THE

LETTERS

OF

PLINY the YOUNGER,

With OBSERVATIONS on each LETTER;

And an ESSAY on PLINY's LIFE,

ADDRESSED TO

CHARLES LORD *BOYLE.*

By JOHN EARL of ORRERY.

VOLUME I.



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An ESSAY on the

LIFE of PLINY,

In a LETTER to

CHARLES Lord BOYLE.

My DEAR CHARLES,

MY leiſure can never be better employed, than towards your improvement; nor is it more my duty, than inclination, to point out to you every ancient and modern example of untainted virtue, and inviolated goodneſs. The author, who is now placed before you in our own language, is a moſt ſingular inſtance of that primitive ſimplicity, that integrity of manners, and that ſweetneſs of diſpoſition, which muſt render a man amiable to his cotemporaries, and honoured, and admired by

all poſterity. He paſſed the earlier part of his life in ſanguinary, ſuſpicious, unſettled times; and he afterwards filled employments of the higheſt dignity and power: The latter ſituation was no leſs dangerous than the former. It was open to all the blaſts of envy, rancour, and revenge: yet by the uprightneſs of his heart, the excellence of his genius, and the exactneſs of his prudence, joined to that proper humility, which is neither baſely ſervile, nor ſecretly ambitious, he rode through the ſtorm in great triumph, boldly, proſperouſly, and unhurt. His moſt threatning hazards proceeded from his ſtrict friendſhips, and firm affections to all thoſe, whom he honoured with his eſteem, or admitted to his boſom. The ſincerity of his nature made his actions ever accompany his promiſes. He was true to his profeſſions, and pertinacious in his good offices; never to be alarmed by perilous difficulties, never to be wearied by labour, or oppoſition. Follow him here, my dear CHARLES, with ſo exact a pace, as not to let him go one ſtep beyond you: be nicely cautious, and conſiderately ſcrupulous in the election of thoſe you love: but, when you have made the choice, in which I pray GOD to direct your judgement, keep firm to it, in oppoſition to all powers, party, faſhion, or temptation.

PLINY is not without his blemiſhes. The critics determine his ſtile in general to be too conciſe, and have diſcovered in him great marks of vanity, and affectation. There is, I confeſs, ſome foundation for ſuch cenſures; his metaphors indeed frequently want uniformity, and are ſometimes inconſiſtent. But his beauties, both in literature, and morals, far outweigh all his defects.

The character of PLINY.

He was one of the beſt, and one of the greateſt men, that any age has produced; ſecond to none in virtue, equal to moſt in accompliſhments; of high birth by his anceſtors, but much more ennobled by himſelf. In the various ſtations of private life, he diſcharged

diſcharged every duty with piety, and exactneſs; he was an affectionate, endearing huſband, an unalterable, and a couragious friend; to his ſervants, a tender and careful maſter; to his aſſociates, an eaſy, and often a facetious companion: grave without ſeverity, witty without ill nature, open without imprudence; he was, my CHARLES, what I wiſh you may be, a ſplendid original, whom few can copy; but whom all ought to imitate. And if, on the other hand, we examine him in his public character, as a ſtateſman, and as firſt miniſter to TRAJAN, he will be acknowledged one of thoſe rare ſpirits, who ſeem allotted by heaven, as bleſſings upon earth. The due courſe, and impartial adminiſtration of the law, the glory of the commonwealth, the intereſt, and proſperity of the emperor, were the moving ſprings to all his actions, and the ſole end of his moſt ſecret deſigns: his views neither centered in himſelf, nor in his own family; they were dilated univerſally, and took in the whole. He was equally the faithful ſervant of the empire, of the people, and of the prince. He was indefatigable in buſineſs, and immoveable in patriotiſm: threats could not alarm him; bribes could not allure him. Thus, above fear, and above temptation, he became a ſhield to his fellow citizens, an ornament to the republic, and a ſupport to the emperor. He was an elegant ſcholar, an excellent philoſopher, and a powerful orator, the patron and example of thoſe arts and ſciences, which he cultivated and admired. His abilities were only to be exceeded by his candour, and integrity; ſo that, among the moſt celebrated names of antiquity, ſcarce any character will be found adequate to PLINY. He was not abſolutely void of reſentment, which perhaps he has carried too far in the caſe of MARCUS AQUILIUS REGULUS, for whoſe misfortune, in the death of an only ſon, he ſeems to have leſs pity, than he diſcovers upon any other occaſion.

The many fortunate circumſtances, which attended PLINY from his birth, and were interſperſed in his life, are worth your obſervation. The exact time when his father died, is not, as I remember, mentioned by any hiſtorian; nor is any character given of him, except that he was the immediate anceſtor of ſo illuſtrious a ſon, who was born, as you will find, by ſeveral of his epiſtles, at *Comum*; and was placed very early under the tuition of his mother's brother, PLINY the natural hiſtorian. His uncle was deſtroyed by too curious, and too imprudent an approach to *Veſuvius* [a]. The nephew was left behind at *Miſenum*, reſerved, as it were, by providence, for purpoſes of future benefit to mankind. He was eighteen years old when his uncle died [b]. But we muſt not omit a ſurpriſing inſtance of his maturity in learning, which appeared at an æra, when in other youths ſcarce the dawning of knowledge is perceptible. At the age of fourteen he had made ſo happy a progreſs, and was ſo perfect a maſter of the Greek tongue, that he compoſed a tragedy in that language. He thus modeſtly mentions it in one of his letters. *Quinetiam* [c] *quatuordecim natus annos Græcam tragœdiam ſcripſi. Qualem? inquis. Neſcio. Tragœdia vocabatur.* The work itſelf is loſt, and perhaps, if extant, could be admired only as the offſpring of a forward wit, and lively imagination. Judgement, and reaſon, thoſe later offſprings of application, and experience, are to be ripened only by age, labour, and aſſiduity.

Little mention of PLINY's father.

PLINY was eighteen years old when his uncle died.

PLINY had two wives: the character, name, and perſon of his firſt wife are buried with her; we have not even any footſteps of her rank, or fortune: her mother was POMPEIA CELERINA.

PLINY was twice married.

The name of his ſecond wife was CALPURNIA. She was educated by her aunt HISPULLA, and was endued with many valuable qualities, and many high

[a] Book 6. Ep. 16. [b] Ibid. Ep. 20. [c] Book 7. Ep. 4.

accom-

accompliſhments [a]. She had an entire affection for her huſband. His happineſs, his proſperity, and his reputation, were the objects of her thoughts and wiſhes: by PLINY's letters to her we may judge of the mutual tenderneſs between them.

There conſtant love with equal ardor glows,
Nor languid ebbs, nor yet tumultuous flows;
With faith unalter'd, reſolutely juſt,
No ſport of paſſion, and no ſlave of luſt:
Such is the ſtate the bleſt enjoy above,
The pureſt reaſon, join'd to pureſt love.

PLINY's country houſes.

You will find, CHARLES, that PLINY had ſeveral country houſes: his Tuſcan villa and *Laurentinum* are deſcribed in two very long and laborious letters, that ſeem not to give ſo clear an idea of the houſes themſelves, as of his particular affection to them. I imagine you will be delighted with a little garden apartment adjoining to his gallery, and built by himſelf. He mentions it with ecſtaſy, in the ſeventeenth epiſtle of the ſecond book. And he tells us, that he conſtantly lodged in this apartment, during the noiſy feſtivals of SATURN, and at once found himſelf not only encloſed in ſweetneſs, and ſolitude, but perfectly defended from all kinds of interruption. Doctor SHAW, in his travels through the *Levant* and *Barbary*, and in his deſcription of the houſes there, takes notice, that they have imitated the eaſtern manner, by building a private ſet of apartments, which ſeem rather annexed, than properly belonging to the reſt of the houſe. The little [b] chamber deſigned by the *Shunamite* for ELISHA, where he retired at his pleaſure, without breaking in

[a] See Book 4. Ep. 19.

[b] 2d of Kings, chap. iv. ℣. 10. Let us make him a little chamber, I pray thee, with walls; and let us ſet him there a bed, and a table, and a ſtool, and a candleſtick, that he may turn in thither when he cometh to us.

upon the private affairs of the family, and without being interrupted in his own devotions, may be conjectured to be one of these separate buildings: As may also the summer [a] parlour of EGLON, where he was slain by EHUD. The [b] chamber over the gate, to which DAVID withdrew, after the death of his son ABSALOM, seems to have been a structure very parallel to those already mentioned: and I must farther observe to you, that this place of retirement is distinguished by a peculiar word in the Hebrew, which answers the Ὑπερῷον of the Greeks, and which Doctor SHAW says, notwithstanding the seeming etymology, is not appropriated only to one high chamber, but to a private apartment of this nature: ὑπερῷον *pro* ὑπερῴϊον *Atticè dicitur, ab* ὑπὲρ *et* ὤϊον *quod fimbriam significat et extremitatem:* and in this sense the word is often used by the classic writers. The ὑπερῷον [c], where MERCURY carried on his amours, and where [d] PENELOPE and the young virgins kept themselves at a distance from the solicitations of their woers, were probably edifices detached from the palace of ULYSSES: and are so far answerable, as to bear a strong resemblance to PLINY's description of his favorite *Diæta*. Doctor SHAW assures us, that the eastern apartments of privacy often had a door of communication to a gallery; joined, I presume, in the same manner as the *Diæta* to PLINY's *Cryptoporticus*.

The Roman luxury appeared no where greater, or more extensive, than in their public buildings, particularly in their *Palæstra*, the accounts of which are amazing. It will be difficult to give you more than a general imperfect view of them, because the size,

[a] Judges iii. 20 and 25. [b] 2d of Samuel, xviii. 33.

[c] HOMER, Il. Π. l. 184.

Αὐτίκα δ' εἰς ὑπερῷ' ἀναβὰς, παρελέξατο λάθρη
Ἑρμείας ἀκάκητα.

[d] HOMER Odyss. O. l. 515, 516.

ὃ μὲν γάρ τι θαμὰ μνηστῆρσ' ἐνὶ οἴκῳ
Φαίνεται, ἀλλ' ἄπο τῶν ὑπερωΐῳ ἶσὸν ὑφαίνει.

order,

order, and number of their diviſions, varied according to the fancy, or the abilities of the builder, and the particular cuſtoms of the country, wherein they were built: However, ſuch obſervations as have occurred to me in my narrow ſphere of reading, from thoſe authors, who have treated upon the ſubject, I here dedicate to your peruſal.

The form and deſcription of the ſeveral parts of the Roman *Palæſtra* were different from the Grecian, deſcribed by VITRUVIUS, and were more magnificent.

The whole area was very large, and was incloſed in an oblong ſquare, which may be conſidered as the external walls of the entire building.

In the ſouth proſpect the *theatridium*, formed like a ſmall theatre, took up one third of that ſide; and was a principal part of the edifice. This had an open large entry, and magnificent pillars on each ſide, through which a paſſage led into the *palæſtra*.

On each ſide of the *theatridium* were placed the *elæotheſium*, the *ephebeum*, the *coriceum*, and the *coniſterium*, like wings to it; and in the angle on each ſide was ſituated the *ſphæriſterium*, of a round form, and intended for various ſorts of exerciſes, but eſpecially ball.

A large *platea*, immediately within the external wall, was continued through the whole circumference of the *palæſtra*, in which perſons not only walked, but uſed promiſcuouſly exerciſes of different kinds.

This *platea*, or ſtreet, had a paſſage into two ſquare *periſtyles* at each ſide of the *theatridium*, and another, which led directly into the center of the *palæſtra*, where were placed the *balnea*, *xyſti*, *et cætera*.

On the oppoſite northern ſide there was another magnificent entry, which ſome antiquaries think the chief and principal entry of the whole building. From hence, through walks of platan trees, different paſſages led to the public ſwimming place, the galleries,

bathing apartments, and the open and covered places of exerciſe.

At each ſide of this northern entry there were different *exhedræ*, with ſeats placed in a ſemicircular manner, where the philoſophers met to perform their learned diſputations, as a ſituation more remote from the other exerciſes, and on many accounts the moſt agreeable; more ſhaded with platans, and more free from any noiſe, except the grateful murmur of fountains, emptying themſelves into a large pond for ſwimming, which, like the warm bath, had ſeveral apartments, and members peculiar to it.

The balnea. It is certain, that the chief elegance and beauty of the *palæſtra* were the riſing fabrics of the *balnea*; the ſtructure of which, and the contrivances, to ſupply ſuch a quantity of water with different degrees of heat, were particularly curious.

The anterior part was divided into two diſtinct uniform orders of baths. One at the right, the other at the left ſide of the *hypocauſtum* [a]; which was ſituated in the middle, and each order conſiſted of four ſeparate chambers, on either ſide of the *hypocauſtum*: they were called the *Laconicum*, *tepidarium*, *calidarium*, and *frigidarium*. All theſe chambers had, by paſſages, a communication with each other.

Different apartments for men and women. It is more than probable, from the beſt accounts, that this double order of bathing-apartments was deſigned for the ſeparate uſes of men and women. HESIOD, a very ancient writer, takes notice in this ſenſe of baths peculiar to women.

Μηδὲ γυναικείῳ λυτρῷ χρόα φαιδρύνεσθαι
Ἀνέρα.

Nec vir corpus oblectet lavando cum muliere.

[a] So called from the furnace underneath.

This

This diſtinction was kept up during the early and virtuous times of the Romans: but when vice and debauchery prevailed, promiſcuous bathing was practiſed without ſhame, or puniſhment; till at laſt the cuſtom became ſo ſcandalous, that a particular law was enacted againſt it, with the penalty of divorce, and loſs of fortune.

The *hypocauſtum* was a large furnace, in which the fire was kept, that gave warmth to the water and bathing rooms. Over the *hypocauſtum* were placed three different large vaulted veſſels, called *miliaria* [a]; perhaps from their ſize, as containing ſuch an immenſe quantity of water, *millions of quarts*. The hypocauſtum. The miliaria.

Theſe veſſels were ſituated in ſuch a manner, that the water was communicated through them by winding tubes: and they were diſtinguiſhed by the ſame names with the three principal bathing apartments; *vas frigidarium*, *vas tepidarium*, *vas calidarium*.

The firſt received the cold water from the common reſervoir, which was communicated to the next by the ſerpentine tubes; and that again was communicated to the laſt, and inferior, *(vas calidarium)* by tubes, which were yet more ſerpentine, that the water might, in a longer circulation round the *calidarium*, receive greater degrees of heat. By theſe means, whatever quantity was diſcharged from the *vas calidarium*, was immediately ſupplied from the *tepidarium*, and this from the *vas frigidarium*, which was filled by the common reſervoir. Thus, without any expence of labour, they were kept conſtantly full. There were ſeveral braſs tubes, which conveyed theſe waters to various apartments; and there were alſo ſubterraneous paſſages formed moſt artfully with brick, in which long channels, like flews, were hollowed:

[a] See SENECA, CATO, and PALLADIUS, who all mention the miliaria.

theſe

theſe diſperſed the dry hot vapour to the *apodyterium*, *calidarium*, and *Laconicum*. SENECA [a] takes notice of ſuch paſſages diſtributing the warm vapour in different degrees, to different parts: and in a Roman ſudatory found at *Wroxeter* in *Shropſhire*, the form of theſe bricks, and the manner of laying them, is exactly deſcribed in the Philoſophical [b] Tranſactions. [c] CAMDEN mentions an *hypocauſtum*, with this ſtructure, diſcovered in *Flintſhire*; and the author [d] of the additions to CAMDEN tells us, there was another diſcovered at *Caerhean* in *Carnarvonſhire*.

There were particular perſons appointed to take care of the fire, called *fornacatores*; in kindling which, they chiefly made uſe of wood, and other combuſtible materials formed into balls, and covered with pitch. [e] STATIUS particularly alludes to theſe, and the conveyance of the vapour throughout the ſeveral chambers and apartments, in his deſcription of the Hetruſcan baths;

Crepantes
Auditura pilas, ubi languidus ignis inerrat
Ædibus, et tenuem volvunt hypocauſta vaporem.

The Laconicum.

The *Laconicum* was a ſmall cloſe vaulted chamber, ſituated at the firſt turning from the *hypocauſtum*, on which account the heat there was exceſſive. It was ſeldom uſed by thoſe, who performed the exerciſes of the *palæſtra*: but the lazy, the infirm, and the debauched, generally ſupplied the want of exerciſe, by ſweating in the *Laconicum*. [f] COLUMELLA, blaming the luxurious life of citizens, ſays, *mox deinde, ut apti veniamus ad ganeas, quotidianam cruditatem Laconicis excoquimus, et exacto ſudore ſitim quærimus.* The

[a] See SENEC. Nat. Quæſt. Lib. 3. cap. 24.
[b] See Abridgment of Philoſophical Tranſactions, Vol. 5. part 2. page 61. [c] *Britannia*, p. 688. [d] Mr. LHWYD.
[e] Sylvarum, lib. 1. [f] *De Re ruſtica, præfat.*

Lace-

Lacedæmonians, as [a] PLUTARCH obſerves, firſt invented the *Laconicum*, and from them it received the name: they generally went ſmoaking with heat out of that chamber directly into the cold bath; being unwilling to relax their veſſels with warm bathing, and fond of accuſtoming their conſtitutions to the greateſt extremes of heat and cold, as appears from MARTIAL [b].

Ritus ſi placeant tibi Laconum,
Contentus potes arido vapore,
Cruda Virgine, Martiaque mergi.

This chamber is called by the Greeks πυριανθηρόν: by the Romans it is generally called *cella calida*, or *Laconicum*; by SENECA, *ſudatorium*; by CICERO, *aſſa*; by VITRUVIUS, *calidarium*. It was never wanting in the private baths. [c] CICERO takes particular notice of it in a letter to his brother QUINTUS, where he ſays, he has removed it to another corner of the *apodyterium*, becauſe the heat was inconvenient to a bed-chamber immediately over it. From hence it is evident, that this was always diſtinct from the bathing room; although the different names given to it have rendered the many accounts of the *Laconicum* perplexed, and unintelligible.

The *tepidarium*, in the public and private baths, was the moſt magnificent part of the whole. It was moderately warmed by the *hypocauſtum*, and was always ſo ſituated, as to receive all the influence of the ſun. In this place, ſuch perſons, who had gone through the uſual exerciſes, were rubbed down with *ſtrigiles*, or *ſcrapers*, before they were anointed for bathing. The *ſtrigiles* were made either of ivory or metal: the common ſort, kept in the public baths, The tepidarium. The ſtrigiles

[a] In vita ALCIBIADIS. [b] Lib. 6. Epig. 42.
[c] Lib. 3. Ep. 1.

were

were of iron. But people of rank had generally their own *ſtrigiles*, as appears from this line in [a] PERSIUS.

I, puer, et ſtrigiles Criſpini ad balnea defer.

And theſe were often of ſilver, and ſometimes of gold. They ſcraped the ſkin with ſo much force, that by the frequent uſe of them, AUGUSTUS [b] had ſeveral callous excreſcences on his breaſt and belly. But to temper the roughneſs of theſe inſtruments, they dipped them, before they uſed them, in oil.

The calidarium.

The *calidarium* was a principal part of the *balnea*; large, and placed ſo as to receive all the advantages both of light and heat from the ſun. The great bathing veſſel was called by the Greeks λυτρὸν, by the Latins *lavacrum*, and *labrum*. It was capable of containing many people: the margin of the *lavacrum* was ſo broad, that they could ſit upon it. In the public baths they were rubbed down with ſpunges, called alſo *ſtrigiles*; but, in the private baths, their bodies were generally cleanſed, (before they anointed) with waſh-balls, the principal ingredient of which was the *nitrum*, or *aphronitrum* of the ancients; among whom, on the ſame account, it was in great eſteem, and uſe. Hence [c] JEREMIAH ſays, *though thou waſh thee with nitre, and take thee much ſoap, yet thine iniquity is marked before me, ſaith the* LORD GOD. And SUSANNAH, before ſhe bathed, directed her maids to bring oil, and waſhing balls. The nitre of the ancients, which was found chiefly in *Ægypt*, had one remarkable property in it, which the modern nitre has not; it conſtantly made an efferveſcence, when mixed with acids: which explains a very beautiful paſſage in *Proverbs*, where [d] SOLOMON compares a man, who ſingeth ſongs with a heavy and afflicted

[a] Satyr. 5. ℣. 126.
[b] Vide SUETON. in vita AUG. cap. 80.
[c] Chap. ii. ℣. 22.
[d] Prov. chap. xxv. ℣. 20.

heart,

heart, to a mixture of nitre and vinegar; a ſimilitude, that gives us a ſtrong image of ſomething particularly cold and ſharp, although attended with a ſeeming warmth and a lively ebullition.

The public baths were warmed to a certain degree for all perſons; and by the ringing of a bell, notice was given, at a fixed hour, to thoſe, who had exerciſed, to prepare for bathing; otherwiſe they were forced to uſe cold water only.

Redde pilam, ſonat æs thermarum; ludere pergis?
Virgine vis ſolâ lotus abire domum[a]*?*

And as the baths were ſupported at a common expence, the price fixed for bathing was only a farthing, which was conſtantly paid to the attendant of the baths. On this account, HORACE, with great humour, ridicules the pride of a Stoic philoſopher, and tells the imaginary monarch, that his majeſty is but one of the crowd, who are obliged to pay their farthing.

Dum tu quadrante lavatum
Rex ibis[b].

The *frigidarium*, according to VITRUVIUS, and ſome other authors, ſeems to be a diſtinct chamber for cold bathing. In all the private, and moſt of the public baths, it was generally built next the *calidarium*; from whence there was a paſſage to it. But in ſome of the public Roman *balnea*, and particularly in thoſe of DIOCLETIAN, there were many additional apartments, and conveniencies, unknown to the Grecians, and not uſed in their private baths. Among theſe was a large *cryptoporticus*, with ſpacious open windows, ſituated and contrived in ſuch a man- The frigidarium.

[a] MARTIAL, Lib. 14. Epig. 163. [b] Satyr. 3. Lib. 1. l. 137.

ner,

ner, as to be fanned with a conſtant and quick ſucceſſion of air, which BACCHIUS, in his account *de thermis veterum*, deſcribes as the *frigidarium*, becauſe it was *locus ventis perflatus feneſtris amplis*. But the true *frigidarium*, although ſeveral writers have treated it in a confuſed manner, was the cold bathing chamber. The veſſel, or place, in which they bathed, was called *frigida lavatio*, and by PLINY, in the ſeventeenth epiſtle of his ſecond book, *baptiſterium*.

The antiquity of warm baths is evident from ſeveral paſſages of the antients: they are mentioned among the moſt early cuſtoms of the Ægyptians. PLATO, in his deſcription of the *Atlantic* iſland, tells us, that the inhabitants there had public and private baths, finiſhed and adorned moſt exactly. HOMER often mentions λοετρὰ θερμὰ warm bathing; and he makes ULYSSES give it a place among muſic, dreſs, and the moſt charming entertainments of life.

Αἰεὶ δ' ἡμῖν δαίς τε φίλη, κίθαρίς τε, χοροί τε,
Εἵματά τ' ἐξημοιβὰ, λοετρά τε θερμὰ, καὶ εὐναί [a].

To dreſs, to dance, to ſing, our ſole delight,
The feaſt or bath by day, and love by night [b].

PINDAR mentions θερμὰ νυμφᾶν λετρὰ, *calida nympharum balnea*; and PISANDER obſerves, that MINERVA prepared a bath for HERCULES, to refreſh him after his labour.

Although theſe accounts are fabulous and uncertain, yet they prove the antiquity, and the uſe of warm baths; which the Syrians, Medes, Perſians, Grecians, and at laſt the Romans, ſucceſſively received from each other. The Perſians in particular, who were induſtrious in improving all the arts of luxury, adorned their baths, and made them more

[a] Odyſſ. θ. ν. 248. [b] POPE, Od. Book 8. l. 285.

uſeful

uſeful and elegant than they had ever been before. And PLUTARCH obſerves, that ALEXANDER was greatly ſurprized with the baths of DARIUS.

The Romans borrowed their firſt models of baths from the Grecians. The neceſſity of bathing was naturally occaſioned by the exerciſes, to which the Roman youth were early accuſtomed.

Ante urbem pueri, et primævo flore juventus,
Exercentur equis, domitantque in pulvere currus:
Aut acres tendunt arcus, aut lenta lacertis
Spicula contorquent, curſuque ictuque laceſſunt [a].

Before the city, boys, and blooming youth,
With rapid chariots, exerciſe their ſtrength,
And tame their horſes in the duſty field;
Or bend their twanging bows, and with ſtrong arms
Launch the tough javelin, with the dart and ſhaft
Contending [b].

The ſenate firſt appointed the *campus Martius* for the uſe of bathing, as being ſituated near the *Tyber*. VEGETIUS gives us a very particular account of it. *Et ignorantia non ſolum ab hoſte, ſed etiam ab ipſis aquis diſcrimen incurrit: ideoque Romani veteres, quos tot bella, et continuata pericula, ad omnem rei militaris erudierant artem, campum Martium vicinum Tyberi delegerunt; in quo juventus, poſt exercitium armorum, ſudorem pulveremque dilueret, ac laſſitudinem curſus natandi labore deponeret* [c].

But as the muddy waters of the *Tyber* were unfit for that uſe, the Romans erected other bathing places, which exceeded any Grecian plans, in all the circumſtances of convenience, ſplendor, and even Aſiatic delicacy.

[a] VIRGIL's Æneid. Lib. 7. ℣. 162. [b] TRAPP. Æn. 7. ℣. 205. [c] Lib. 1. cap. 10.

The

The gymnaſia.

The *gymnaſia* of the Grecians were of greater extent, than the *palæſtra* of the Romans. We learn from what SOLON ſays in [a] *Lucian*, that theſe places of exerciſe owed their original to the Greeks. The

The porticus, or firſt part of the gymnaſia.

firſt part in the *gymnaſia* was the porticus, or gallery, which had ſeveral diſtinct apartments, where the philoſophers, rhetoricians, and mathematicians diſputed and read lectures. PAUSANIAS and SUIDAS mention two at *Athens*; one called ἀκαδημία, where PLATO taught, and another called λυκεῖον, where ARISTOTLE gave his lectures. Theſe apartments were at no great diſtance from the place of exerciſe, as is evident from the plan of HIERONYMUS MERCURIALIS [b], and from the proverb, *diſcum, quam philoſophiam audire malunt.*

The ephebeum, or ſecond part.

The ſecond part was the *ephebeum*, where they met to agree about the manner of their exerciſe, and to ſettle the prize, for which they contended.

The coriceum, or third part.

The third part was the *coriceum*, which ſeems to mark out the place of undreſſing for thoſe, who either bathed, or exerciſed, called by the Greeks ἀποδυτήριον. The commentators on VITRUVIUS probably miſtake, when they imagine this place to have been a part of the *gymnaſia*, deſtined for the particular exerciſe of ball, called *corycus*. PLINY takes notice of the *apodyterium* in his Tuſcan villa; and as VITRUVIUS mentions no apartments for undreſſing, which could ſcarce be wanting either in the public or private baths, it is no unreaſonable ſurmiſe, to ſuppoſe, that the *coriceum* of VITRUVIUS was adapted for that neceſſary purpoſe.

The elæotheſium, or fourth part.

The fourth part was the *elæotheſium*, by the Greeks called ἀλειπτήριον, by PLINY, *unctuarium*, where thoſe,

[a] Ἀναχάρσις, Ἡ περὶ γυμνασίων.

[b] A phyſician, who has written *de re gymnaſticâ*. He was born at *Forli* in *Italy*, 1530, and died there 1596. His works, excluſive of thoſe parts, which relate to phyſic, contain remarkable paſſages and curious obſervations.

who

who exerciſed, or bathed, were anointed before they went to the bath, or begun their exerciſe, and after they returned from it. The antiquity of this cuſtom appears from HOMER;

Αὐτὰρ ἐπεὶ λῦσέν τε, καὶ ἔχρισεν λίπ' ἐλαίῳ [a].

Sweet POLYCASTE took the pleaſing toil,
To bath the prince, and pour the fragrant oil [b].

This was in preparation of the journey intended by TELEMACHUS: and in another part of the Odyſſey we have theſe lines;

Τόφρα δὲ Λαέρτην μεγαλήτορα ᾧ ἐνὶ οἴκῳ
Ἀμφίπολος Σικελὴ λοῦσεν καὶ χρῖσεν ἐλαίῳ [c].

The hoary king his old Sicilian maid
Perfum'd and waſh'd [d].

There is a remarkable paſſage in STOBÆUS, which may be inſerted on this occaſion. That author ſays, the ſervants of ARCHIMEDES were accuſtomed at bathing-times to take him by force from the table, where he drew mathematical figures, with ſuch a fixed attention, that he continued to draw them on his anointed body, not knowing where he was, while his ſervants were pouring ointments upon him, and preparing him for the bath.

The oils, which the ancients made uſe of after bathing, were more pure and valuable, than thoſe uſed before: and the people were ſo fond of theſe ointments, that the moſt popular gift, any great man could beſtow, was a preſent of oil to the public baths. The oils.

[a] HOMER Odyſſ. lib. 3. ℣. 466. [b] POPE, book 3. ℣. 594.
[c] HOMER Odyſſ. lib. 24. ℣. 364. [d] POPE, book 24. ℣. 425.

There were various ſorts of ointments uſed for the purpoſes already mentioned, of all which the elder PLINY, in the thirteenth book of his natural hiſtory, gives a full account: but the fineſt and moſt fragrant was brought from *Syria*, and made of the leaves of an aromatic plant, which grows in *India*, and is called *nardum*, from the pointed figure of its leaves. This ointment is alſo called *unguentum ſpicatum*, and ſometimes *foliatum*; in which ſenſe we are to take the following expreſſion of JUVENAL;

Mœchis foliata parantur [a].

It was not only uſed after bathing, but ſometimes at the public entertainments.

Aſſyriâque nardo
Potamus unctli.

ſays HORACE, in the eleventh ode of the ſecond book. With this particular ſort of ointment CHRIST was anointed in [b] *Bethany*, in the houſe of SIMON the leper, as he ſat at meat. It had been kept in a box of alabaſter; which is agreeable to what HORACE ſays to VIRGIL, when he invites him to ſupper, and deſires him to bring ſome of that valuable ointment with him;

Nardo vina merebere,
Nardi parvus onyx eliciet cadum [c].

The wreſtlers, after anointing, by mutual agreement, oftentimes ſprinkled duſt upon their bodies, before the combat, to give each other a more firm hold of his adverſary: the glory therefore was

[a] Satir. 6. l. 464.
[b] St. MARK, ch. xiv. ℣. 5.
[c] Ode 12. lib. 4. ℣. 16.

eſteemed

eſteemed greater to conquer an adverſary, who was anointed without powder, becauſe it was more difficult to graſp him. [a] PLINY the elder celebrates DIOXIPPUS as a combatant, who diſdained to take the advantage of the *pulvis*. Such wreſtlers were from thence ſaid to have conquered ἀκονιτί. It is according to this interpretation, that the following paſſage in HORACE, miſtaken by moſt, if not all, of the commentators, is to be underſtood:

Quis circum pagos, et circum compita pugnax,
Magna coronari contemnat Olympia, cui ſpes,
Cui ſit conditio dulcis ſine pulvere palmæ [b] *?*

The fifth part of the *gymnaſia* was the *coniſterium*, where the powder was kept, and where the wreſtlers were anointed. There were various ſorts of theſe powders brought from various countries. But two kinds were more particularly eſteemed, the one called *Puteolanus*, I ſuppoſe from *Puteoli*, of which SIDONIUS APOLLINARIS ſpeaks in this line, The coniſterium, or fifth part of the gymnaſia.

Namque Dicarcheæ tranſlatus pulvis arenæ [c].

The other came from *Ægypt*, which SUETONIUS, in the life of NERO, ſays, was brought to *Rome*, amongſt the other extravagancies of that emperor: and PLINY the elder tells us, that PATROBIUS [d], the freedman of NERO, had yearly conveyd to him from the *Nile* a fine ſand, not much different from the ſand of *Puteoli*, which contributed to determine the victory of the *Athletæ* with greater eaſe and quickneſs. He adds farther, that the ſame ſort of ſand was carried with other military utenſils, by LEONATUS,

[a] Book 35. chap. 11. [b] Ep. 1. lib. 1. ℣. 49. [c] Carmen 2 ℣. 59. [d] Lib. 35. cap. 13.

CRASSUS, and MELEAGER, generals of ALEXANDER the great, wherever they marched.

The ſixth part of the gymnaſia, called the palæſtra.

The ſixth part was the large open ſpace, where they wreſtled, jumped, lifted weights, and practiſed various feats of ſtrength and activity. This place was more particularly diſtinguiſhed with the title of *palæſtra*; and from hence all places of exerciſe, where no regular *gymnaſium* was erected, are in an unconfined ſenſe called by that name. Thus the verſe in VIRGIL has a ſignification to that purpoſe;

Pars in gramineis exercent membra palæſtris [a].

"On graſſy theatres ſome exerciſe their limbs."

And *Geta*, in TERENCE's *Phormio*, upon ſeeing PHÆDRIA coming from the houſe of his miſtreſs, ſays ſneeringly,

Eccum ab ſuâ paleſtrâ exit foras [b].

The ſphæriſterium, or ſeventh part of the gymnaſia.

The ſeventh part of the *gymnaſia* was the *ſphæriſterium*. As the *ſphæriſterium* is particularly mentioned by PLINY in his deſcription of his two villas, and as the uſe of it is not always underſtood, ſome authors miſtaking it for a bowling-green, which was a kind of exerciſe not practiſed, as I can recollect, by the Romans; it may not be improper to attempt at a full explanation of this part of the *palæſtra*. Where PLINY mentions his *ſphæriſterium* in the ſixth epiſtle of the fifth book, he repreſents it, as having ſeveral circular diviſions, in which different kind of exerciſes were performed: *Apodyterio ſuperpoſitum eſt ſphæriſterium, quod plura genera exercitationis plureſque circulos capit.* Of theſe the general and favorite exerciſe among the Greeks and Romans, before they

[a] Æneid. 6. ℣. 642. [b] Act 3. Scene 1.

bathed,

bathed, was the ball. [a] PLINY the naturaliſt aſcribes the invention of this play to PYTHUS. There were four ſorts of balls, which the Grecians deſcribe, μεγάλη σφαῖρα, μικρὰ σφαῖρα, κενὴ σφαῖρα, καὶ κώρυκος. The ſize and ſtructure of the balls were not only different; but the manner and degree of the exerciſe varied, according to the ſeveral ages, ſtrength, and conſtitution of the players. The Romans had four ſorts of balls, that were again in many reſpects different from thoſe of the Grecians. They were called, *follis*, *trigonalis*, *paganica*, and *harpaſtum*.

The *follis* was a ball made of leather, and filled with wind. There were two ſorts, one of a large, the other of a ſmall ſize. The former was called *follis pugillaris*. The perſons, who played, had large [b] braſſets fixed upon their arms, with which they received, and repelled the ball. [c] PROPERTIUS takes notice of this, where he ſays, The follis.

Cùm pila veloci fallit per brachia jactu.

A ſmall force was capable to give great velocity to this ball, which inſenſibly encouraged the players in continuing an exerciſe, that from the conſtant motion which it occaſioned, was attended with much fatigue. HORACE ſpeaks of it in that light, where he ſays,

Molliter auſterum ſtudio fallente laborem [d].

The ſmall ball was received, and repelled by the hand, without braſſets: thus PLAUTUS,

[a] Lib. 7. cap. 56. [b] A braſſet is a wooden cuff, or bracer, worn for this particular play of ball. [c] Lib. 3. el. 14. l. 5. [d] HORAT. ſat. 2. lib. 2. l. 12.

Extemplo hercle ego te follem pugilatorium
Faciam, et pendentem incurſabo pugnis, perjuriſſime[a]*!*

" I will bounce you into the air with my fiſt,
" like a tennis ball, and keep you there, you
" villain!"

But the exerciſe of this little ball, called by ſome authors [b] *folliculus*, was appropriated as a milder exerciſe, than the *follis magnus*, and more adapted to young boys, valetudinarians, and old men. In an epigram of MARTIAL, it is introduced to this purpoſe:

Ite procul, juvenes: mitis mihi convenit ætas;
Folle decet pueros ludere, folle ſenes [c].

Some writers have imagined, that the μεγάλη σφαῖρα, or *pila magna* of the Grecians, was the ſame with the *follis* of the Romans. But they were very different; for thoſe, who played at the μεγάλη σφαῖρα, held their hands higher than their heads; and the play itſelf was always regarded as a moſt violent exerciſe. Other authors have ſuppoſed, with leſs reaſon, that the *follis* was the ſame with the κώρυκος, but the latter was filled with bran, and the former only with wind. The *corycus* was ſuſpended by a ſtring from a fixed point in the roof; but the *follis* was moved through the air from one player to another.

The pila trigonalis.

The ſecond part of ball was the *pila trigonalis*, ſo called from the triangular poſition of the perſons, who played. It was a ſmall ball, and both hands were engaged in the exerciſe. The great art was to

[a] RUDENS, act 3. ſcene 4. [b] Particularly by SUETONIUS, in his life of AUGUSTUS, cap. 83. *ad pilam primo, folliculumque tranſiit.* [c] Lib. 14. epig. 47.

keep

keep it from falling. MARTIAL commends POLYBIUS for being ſo expert in recovering and returning this ball with his left hand.

Sic palmam tibi de trigone nudo
Unctæ det favor arbiter coronæ,
Nec laudet Polybî magis ſiniſtras [a].

And the ſame poet, in another place ſays,

Capitabit tepidum dextrâ, lævaque trigonem [b].

The third ſort was the *pila paganica*; ſo called, becauſe it was the common exerciſe of the villages. The ball was generally filled with feathers, and was larger and heavier than the *trigonalis*; but not ſo equally firm; which rendered it, according to the epigrammatiſt juſt now quoted, more difficult to manage; The pila paganica.

Hæc quæ difficilis turget paganica pluma
Folle minus laxa eſt, et minus arcta pila [c].

The fourth part was the *harpaſtum*, which is obſcurely explained by moſt authors; but it ſeems not unlike the modern play of *goff*. The contending perſons on each ſide endeavoured to drive it to the goal. It was a very violent exerciſe, fit only for the ſtrongeſt and moſt robuſt men. On this account MARTIAL, when he condemns PHILÆNIS for her maſculine behaviour, mentions, as the ſtrongeſt inſtance of it, The harpaſtum.

Harpaſto quoque ſubligata ludit [d].

Any exerciſe at ball was reckoned indecent in the

[a] Lib. 7. epig. 71. [b] Lib. 12. epig. 84. [c] Lib. 14. epig. 45. [d] Lib 7. epig. 66.

women; but the *Harpaſtum* more ſo than any other.

The eighth part of the gymnaſia. The area of the periſtylium.

Now let us return to the eighth part of the *gymnaſia*, which was the *area* of the *periſtylium*, and the opening paſſages between the galleries and walls. Theſe were deſigned to give light to the other parts, and were made uſe of for walking, and common exerciſe.

The ninth part, the xyſti, and the xyſta.

The ninth part was the *xyſti* and *xyſta*; between which the Greeks and Romans made a great difference: The *xyſti* are the *cryptoporticus*, or covered galleries, where the *athletæ*, in the ſeverity of winter, practiſed their exerciſes, but never contended in that place for the prize.

The *xyſta* were the *ſubdiales ambulationes*, open walks, where, in the winter in mild weather, and in the ſummer, when the heat of the ſun was not too violent, they quitted the *xyſti*, and exerciſed or walked. Theſe, according to VITRUVIUS, were called by the Greeks περιδρομίδες, of which there were two ſorts; one open, the other planted with the plane-tree, to give a ſhade, and make them more agreeable. PLINY the elder takes notice of them, where he obſerves, that the platans were much celebrated at *Athens*, for making their walks in the academy gloomy and beautiful: and PLINY the younger ſpeaks of them with more than uſual pleaſure.

The tenth part of the gymnaſia.

The tenth part of the *gymnaſia* was the baths, of which I have already endeavoured to give you as full, and as clear a deſcription, as I could gather and digeſt, from the various, and ſometimes incongruous accounts of different authors. Theſe jarring materials ariſe probably from the various deſigns of the ſeveral baths, where ſome apartments were appropriated to uſes very different from thoſe, to which they were deſtined in others. I muſt farther add, that the indulgence of bathing was forbid, by way of mortification, during any time of public mourning, or calamity.

mity. The ſame puniſhment was obſerved againſt particular perſons, who had been guilty of notorious miſdemeanours. And now, my CHARLES, I leave you to make your own remarks upon theſe ſtupendous works of art; of which the few remains, and the lamentable ruins, may ſerve to convince us, of how ſhort duration all human greatneſs is appointed by the unſearchable decrees of heaven. A melancholy thought! were it not relieved by thoſe Chriſtian doctrines, that lead us to look forward to real glory, and eternal happineſs, in a future ſtate.

But no reflexions, that may ariſe upon the general decay of empire, or the particular devaſtation of the theatres, towers, and gorgeous palaces of *Rome*, can equal that aſtoniſhment, with which we muſt immediately be filled, in a ſpeculative review of the origin and progreſs of the Roman government; a government begun by fratricide and murders, augmented by robberies and rapes, eſtabliſhed by valour and conqueſt, undone by luxury and vice. It muſt ever ſeem wonderful in the eye of contemplation, that a rabble, conſiſting of thieves and vagabonds, ſhould form themſelves into a civil ſociety, ſhould ſubmit to laws, and ſhould be paſſive to regal authority. So many concurring teſtimonies agree in this point, that we are at a loſs, which moſt to admire, the wiſdom of ROMULUS, or the obedience of his people. The latter was of no long duration; the natural fierceneſs of his ſubjects broke out, ſoon after their eſtabliſhment, and ended in the ſecret deſtruction of their king. Let us, if you pleaſe, leaving out all the fabulous parts of that hiſtory, curſorily diſcuſs the ſtate of the Romans under their ſeven ſucceſſive monarchs. To go farther might lead us into too large a field: and in paſſing through thoſe ſeven reigns, you will eaſily diſtinguiſh the original conſtitution and progreſs of the Roman ſenate, during the monarchical ſtate.

That

A diſſertation on the monarchy and ſenate of *Rome*.

That aſſembly is repreſented as a branch of government, in which all power, or at leaſt an equal power with the regal authority, was eſtabliſhed and confirmed. But, if we examine minutely the ſeveral acts of ſenate, from the time of ROMULUS, to the baniſhment of TARQUINIUS SUPERBUS, we ſhall find that the ſenatorial power was originally confined within very narrow limits, and generally gained, or loſt ground, according to the diſpoſition of the prince upon the throne. I fear, even in ſo ſhort a retroſpect of the Roman ſtate, it will be difficult to avoid a repetition of ſeveral facts perfectly well known, and copiouſly diſcuſſed, by many very learned, and very impartial authors. However, as theſe are ſo many leading avenues to the remarks ariſing from them, it would be impoſſible to go into any new road, and to arrive at the point in view.

After the foundation of *Rome*, ROMULUS propoſed to his colony, then conſiſting of three thouſand three hundred men, to chuſe a government, that ſhould beſt ſuit with their own inclinations. He laid before them three ſorts; monarchy, ariſtocracy, and a mixed kind; not abſolutely a republic, but a government, in which the people were to have ſome ſhare. They unanimouſly declared for monarchy, and elected ROMULUS as their ſovereign, without any conditions, or reſerve.

1. ROMULUS.

ROMULUS, to endear himſelf to his own ſubjects, and to increaſe his power by alluring his neighbours to ſettle within his territories, began his reign with a ſtrict regard to juſtice, and with a ſincere view to the ſafety and happineſs of his people. He divided his colony into three equal parts; which, from the word *tres*, he called tribes. They afterwards retained their name, although their number was encreaſed. He then choſe one hundred of the chieſeſt, and moſt diſtinguiſhed perſons, whom he appointed *ſenators*, and called them *fathers*: their children were called *patricians*; the

The ſenators. Patricians.

reſt

reſt were called *plebeians*; but they were again ſeparated into two ſorts, and diſtinguiſhed by the two titles of *patrons* and *clients*. The patrons were a middle rank between the power, riches, and dignity of the ſenators, and the weakneſs, poverty, and meanneſs of the populace. The patrons were to aſſiſt, protect and defend their clients, each patron having a certain number of families under his own immediate protection. The clients were obliged to contribute towards the portions allotted for the daughters of their patrons, whoſe ranſom they were alſo obliged to pay, and the ranſom of their ſons when taken in war; and to diſcharge them. Theſe were ſo many badges of their ſlavery, which they fooliſhly looked upon as honours, and remained contented amidſt labour, miſery and want. In the beginning of this new ſtate, no ſenator could be a patron; the ſenators by office were the judges of the people; a title incompatible with that of patron.

Plebeians.

Patrons and clients.

Thus the whole colony was divided into ſenators, patrons, and clients. Romulus appointed the ſenate to adminiſter juſtice, to take upon them the care of religion, and to aſſiſt the king with their counſels, upon any occaſion, wherein he acquired their advice. From whence we may obſerve, that the ſenate, although the only court of judicature, both in regal, and in religious matters, were nevertheleſs controlable by the king, who, at the ſame time, that he gave them an authority ſuperior to any of his other ſubjects, yet did not thoroughly diveſt himſelf of his own right and power. The ſenate, by the original foundation, ſeems in one reſpect not unlike the privy council of our kings of *England*: they were to aſſiſt their prince, whenever he pleaſed to ſummon them, or demand their aſſiſtance: They might adviſe, but the king was under no neceſſity to follow that advice. This indeed is the ſingle inſtance, in which the compariſon holds; for the ſenators were for life, and could not

The power of the ſenate.

In one inſtance like the privy council of *England*.

not be degraded, except on occaſion of ſome miſdemeanor, and then only by the judgement of their own body: neither did the king name the ſenate; he granted that privilege to the people: ninety-nine were elected out of the patricians. Each tribe choſe three; and then, each tribe being divided into ten *curiæ*, or pariſhes, each *curia* choſe three, which made the number ninety-nine: And ROMULUS choſe one, who was called *Princeps ſenatûs*, a kind of lord mayor, who governed *Rome* whilſt the king was in the field. Thus was the number compleated one hundred. Upon the agreement between the Romans and the Sabines, ROMULUS and [a] TITUS TATIUS reigned in *Rome*. TITUS formed a council of one hundred ſenators of his own nation.

The ſenators, in what manner choſen, and how many.

It is certain, that the ſenate had not any power, or permiſſion to make laws. ROMULUS reſerved that prerogative to himſelf: and the power of the ſenate was only executive, not legiſlative. But during the weakneſs and infancy of the Roman colony, it ſeems as if ROMULUS had ſo often conſulted the ſenate, and applied for their approbation, that from thence they aſſumed a right of being always conſulted. On the other hand, the king finding, by perpetual ſucceſs, a large encreaſe of riches, ſubjects, and dominions, thirſted after the exerciſe of more power, than he had hitherto aimed at, or aſſumed. The chief paſſion of ROMULUS was ambition, and if we may believe a poet,

Ambition is a weed, that's always found
To ſpread the fartheſt in the richeſt ground;

[a] TITUS TATIUS was murdered at the altar *anno urbis* 14. It is probable, that ROMULUS encouraged, or at leaſt connived at the murder. LIVY tells us, that TATIUS was aſſaſſinated in the city of *Lavinium*.

Fair

Fair to the eye, the fragrant bloſſoms riſe,
But he, who plucks the fruit, and taſtes it, dies.

The ſenators were now no longer the counſellors and aſſiſtants of their prince: they became a ſhadow, and an empty name: they were aſſembled merely to preſerve form, or only to communicate to the people the commands of the king; of whoſe arbitrary ſway they every day felt freſh inſtances. Theſe repeated ſlights enraged the fathers; they conſpired againſt ROMULUS, and murdered him in the thirty ſeventh year of his reign [a].

The firſt miſunderſtanding between the ſenators, and their ſovereign, certainly aroſe from the want of proper limits; which ought originally to have been ſettled for their mutual benefit and direction. The ſenators imagined, that they had a larger part in the legiſlature, and a greater ſhare in the affairs of ſtate, than ROMULUS intended to give them: and then again ROMULUS, tired with their formalities, and diſagreement, endeavoured to deprive them of thoſe rights, and uſages, which he had originally granted, and permitted them to exerciſe. *Inde iræ faciles.* During the *interregnum*, the ſenate, now two hundred in number, took upon themſelves the government, with a deſign to have kept it, had not the people broke in upon thoſe intentions, by declaring, "they were reſolved to have a king." The ſenate immediately decreed, that the people ſhould chooſe a king, but reſerved the approbation of that choice to themſelves: and the people, pleaſed with the certainty of having a king, remitted the choice of a ſovereign to the ſenate, who choſe NUMA POMPILIUS to fill the vacant throne. If ROMULUS had left a ſon to ſucceed him, the crown, in all likelihood, would have been hereditary: but, he dying without chil-

[a] See HOOKE's Roman Hiſtory, page 44.

dren,

dren, the crown became elective; the people claiming the right of election, and the ſenate of approbation.

2. NUMA POMPILIUS.

During the reign of NUMA the ſenate had no power of making laws. All hiſtories agree, that NUMA, by his own authority, regulated the rites and ceremonies of religion, without the intervention of the ſenate. I am apt to impute this power to the ſuperſtitious fear, which the Romans entertained of the goddeſs EGERIA, with whom the king pretended to hold frequent converſations in a cave; and from whom he gave out ſuch maxims, and commands, as he thought moſt conducible to the benefit of the ſtate. This pious prince created a ſet of religious heralds, called *feciales*. Their office was to demand ſatisfaction, in caſe the Romans were injured; and if the aggreſſors refuſed to make a proper ſubmiſſion and acknowledgment, the heralds were then to return, and to report to the king, that they had diſcharged their duty, and that nothing hindered *Rome* from making war. He alſo conſtituted *pontifices* [prieſts] who had the entire management of all things relating to religion, and the worſhip of the gods: they had a preſident called *Pontifex maximus*, and they afterwards obtained a privilege of filling up the vacant poſts in their college, independent both of the king, and the people. The whole reign of NUMA was a ſcene of prudence, moderation, and piety. His pacific temper, and political abilities, very happily ſucceeded to the rough and fiery nature of ROMULUS: and his conduct, and turn of mind, ſeem to anſwer, in many particulars, the character of MOSES, who is repreſented to us, as a man *very meek, above all the men, which are upon the face of the earth.*

On the death of NUMA, the ſenate, during the *interregnum*, again aſſumed the government. They aſſembled the people by their authority, who choſe

3. TULLUS HOSTILIUS.

TULLUS HOSTILIUS for their king, and the ſenate confirmed

confirmed the choice. In his reign it appears, that by virtue of his ſovereign authority, and without aſſiſtance of the ſenate, or the formalities of a trial, he condemned FUFFETIUS, general of the Alban army, for treachery, and high treaſon, and ordered him to be torn in pieces by two chariots. The puniſhment was rigorouſly executed according to the king's command: nor is it evident, that the ſenate exerciſed any judicature during his whole reign.

On the death of TULLUS, the ſenate took upon themſelves the government. The people elected ANCUS MARTIUS, and the ſenate confirmed the election. In his reign there is no account of any acts of ſtate, or judicature, by the ſenate. 4. ANCUS MARTIUS.

On the death of ANCUS, the ſenate, as uſual, aſſumed the government; the people elected TARQUINIUS PRISCUS, an Hetrurian; and the ſenate gave their approbation. He created one hundred new ſenators, under the title of *ſenatores minorum gentium*; probably becauſe they were choſen out of thoſe, who came with him to *Rome*, or out of the people moſt zealous for his election: but theſe ſenators, although diſtinguiſhed by ſuch inferior title, had equal authority with the former. TARQUIN, from the time of his coming to the crown, had a view to make it hereditary in his own family; and to obtain this end, he courted both the ſenate and the people. He augmented their powers and their privileges; but he acted this part, not by compulſion, but by choice. If the ſenate gained ground in his reign, it was owing to the deſign he had of leaving the kingdom to his own ſon. And when he ſhewed ſuch uncommon ſubmiſſion to that aſſembly, as to refuſe certain regal ornaments ſent to him from Hetruria, till a decree paſſed, that he might wear them, he gave up the appearance of his authority in a trifle, in hopes of ſecuring to himſelf, by ſuch an act of indulgence, the great point, at which he aimed, of 5. TARQUINIUS PRISCUS.

making

making the crown hereditary to his deſcendants; at leaſt, to his ſons. Upon a ſtrict review of the monarchical government of *Rome*, to this time, it appears unlimited, and without reſtrictions, except, as has been already obſerved, in the ceremony of making war. The cataſtrophe of TARQUINIUS PRISCUS is perfectly well known. He was murdered by the ſons of ANCUS MARTIUS, who fled as ſoon as they had killed the king; but were afterwards taken and executed.

6. SERVIUS TULLIUS. We come now to a new ſcene: SERVIUS TULLIUS prevailed upon the ſenate to make him their ſovereign, without waiting for the election of the people. The ſenators ſoon repented of their choice, and attempted to dethrone him, by alledging, that there was no *interregnum*, and that conſequently the election was void: but SERVIUS diſappointed their deſign, and procured himſelf to be elected by the people. The alterations and additions, which this prince made in the government, are remarkable. He added a fourth tribe to the city, and divided the Roman territories into fifteen counties, tribes, or hundreds. He inſtituted the *cenſus*, which at firſt only imported an eſtimate, or valuation, of every man's eſtate. He ſeparated all the Roman people into ſix different claſſes; and gave, in effect, to the firſt claſs, who were the richeſt, the whole authority of determining ſuch points, as were, before this time, ſubmitted to the cogniſance of the people in the *comitia*; aſſemblies, to which all the *curiæ* were ſummoned, where every perſon voted, and where the lower rabble, as being moſt numerous, often prevailed. He then divided all the claſſes into centuries, or companies, of one hundred men; and in the firſt claſs he had ninety eight centuries, which were in number three more than the other claſſes; ſo that when the firſt claſs was unanimous, the oppoſition of the remaining claſſes was fruitleſs, and ineffectual. By this method he

he ſecured the power to the richeſt and the wiſeſt of the people: and from hence came the titles, *comitia curiata*, *& comitia centuriata*: there was alſo another, called *comitia tributa* [a], derived from the word tribes. He divided the freedmen into four tribes, and gave them the ſame privileges as plebeians. The ſenators at firſt murmured at this diviſion, but after hearing his reaſons, they were pacified. The tribes were now encreaſed to the number of twenty three.

Comitia curiata, centuriata, et tributa.

The regal predeceſſors of SERVIUS had reſerved the cogniſance of all cauſes, both public and private, to themſelves. Few proceſſes in civil, or criminal affairs, were determined, except by the king: The determination of the ſenate and the people was only as adviſers, and approvers of the king, and his edicts. The king firſt examined, and prepared all cauſes for a public hearing; and the people gave their votes according to the manner, in which their ſovereign repreſented whatever he thought proper to lay before them. But if they rejected his propoſitions, their diſſent was of no conſequence: the king might ſtill purſue what meaſures he thought proper.

SERVIUS finding this burden too great, reſerved only affairs of ſtate to himſelf, and committed the examination of ordinary ſuits to the ſenate. He laid down a form of proceedings for them, but abſolutely tranſferred the care and power of trying private cauſes, from himſelf into other hands. Here indeed SERVIUS parted with a great prerogative of the crown; and rendered it in ſome meaſure not ſo abſolute as it had been. The ſenate were no ſooner armed with weapons, than they employed thoſe weapons againſt SERVIUS himſelf. He was obliged to appear before them to defend his right to the crown, in a diſpute

[a] The *comitia tributa* were put in practice at the trial of CORIOLANUS, where he received ſentence of perpetual baniſhment. See HOOKE's Roman Hiſtory, book 1. chap. 7. p. 92.

betwixt him and his ſon-in-law TARQUIN. This was the firſt ſtep towards the power of the ſenate. That aſſembly had hitherto been of little conſequence. The quick progreſs they made, in the enlargement of that power, will ſoon appear.

7. TARQUINIUS SUPERBUS.

SERVIUS TULLIUS, although his right to the crown was adjudged, and confirmed to him by the ſenate and the people, was ſoon after murdered by TARQUINIUS SUPERBUS, who ſeized upon the royal diadem by violence, ſought no election, and defended himſelf by his guards. His numerous acts of tyranny, and the rape of LUCRETIA by his ſon, gave the Romans an opportunity of ſhewing a ſpirit becoming the greateſt people in the world. They baniſhed TARQUIN, and they extirpated the race of kings. But before we look into the new form of government, let us conſider what obſervations will naturally occur in relation to the Roman ſenate, during the monarchical ſtate, which FLORUS calls the childhood of *Rome*.

The power of the ſenate.

It is plain, that the ſenators owed their riſe to ROMULUS, and had no power, except what he granted.

The power, firſt granted, was only to adminiſter juſtice, to take care of religion, and to aſſiſt the king with their counſels on occaſion.

The ſenate had no certain independent power, till the law of SERVIUS TULLIUS. Before that time, whatever ſhew of authority they might ſometimes exerciſe, it was owing more to the moderation and lenity of the kings, than to any abſolute right in the ſenate. Their only poſitive power was during the *interregnum*; betwixt the death of one king, and the election of another. Then they aſſembled the people, who choſe the king, and they confirmed the popular choice; and if they had acted otherwiſe, in all probability they might have been torn to pieces.

The only rights inherent to the people were their aſſemblies, the election of a king, and the choice of *pontifices*,

pontifices, *auſpices*, and *augurs*. This was the ſituation of *Rome* during the firſt two hundred and forty three years.

The cataſtrophe of LUCRETIA raiſed an univerſal alarm. The ſenate immediately aſſembled, and paſſed a decree, in which they condemned the Tarquins, and all their poſterity, to perpetual baniſhment: they deprived them of all the rights and honours of the regal power; and they prohibited every citizen, upon pain of death, either to act, or ſpeak in favour of that family. BRUTUS, who was tribune of TARQUIN's horſe-guards, an office to which the power of aſſembling the *comitia* was annexed, after a ſhort *interregnum*, in which the adminiſtration was entruſted to SP. LUCRETIUS, governor of *Rome*, brought all the people, lawfully aſſembled by *curiæ*, into the uſual place, where they gave their votes. The people were unanimous, and a decree was made with one voice, that the Tarquins ſhould no longer be ſuffered to rule upon the throne, or to remain in *Rome*; and that their adherents ſhould be puniſhed by death. Here we ſee a diſtinction made betwixt the royal family, and their followers: the princes were only to be baniſhed, but their adherents were to ſuffer death. Such an edict ſhews in how great reverence this riſing nation held their kings, at a time when death ſeemed almoſt too mild a puniſhment for the Tarquinian race. The baniſhment of TARQUIN, and the end of monarchy.

BRUTUS, in his ſpeech upon this occaſion, ſaid, that he very well underſtood the diviſions between the people, and the ſenate; and the mutual jealouſies, that they entertained of each other; jealouſies, which had given great advantages to the tyrannic diſpoſition of the kings. He added, that ROMULUS, and ſuch of his ſucceſſors, who acted with wiſdom and integrity, had endeavoured to keep the balance of the two contending parties even, and to moderate the incroachments, that were attempted on either ſide. The ſpeech of BRUTUS.

"This, ſays he, muſt be the work alſo of our future "government: but, becauſe the power of reigning "over the Roman ſtate is a dominion not to be en- "truſted in the hands of one man, let us appoint "two annual magiſtrates, who ſhall have the name "of conſuls. And that we may ſtill retain the ve- "nerable name of king, let us fix upon one parti- "cular perſon, who ſhall have the ſuperintendency of "religion, and ſhall be called the king of ſacred "things; and let his office be for life."

To this purpoſe ſpoke L. JUNIUS BRUTUS; and the ſenate and people immediately eſtabliſhed the new form of government propoſed to their choice; a form, which, however well deſigned, had, in effect, no other difference, than the exchange of one abſolute king, for two as abſolute conſuls. If the people were pleaſed, the ſenators had no leſs reaſon to be ſatisfied; for as they were the firſt body in the republic, ſo were they moſt concerned to exclude the kings, who always kept them in a ſtate of dependence, and ſometimes under oppreſſion. SERVIUS TULLIUS gave them the firſt taſte of power and authority, which had he not done, it is probable neither the tyranny of TARQUIN, nor the rape of LUCRETIA, would have awakened in them the ſenſe of liberty, or the deſire of ſo total a revolution in the ſtate.

The ſenators how elected.

The right of naming ſenators, and of filling up the vacancies, when any family was extinct, or attainted, belonged at firſt to the kings. Upon the demolition of monarchy, the *conſuls* choſe the ſenatorial fathers, and referred to the people, for approbation. At laſt the *cenſors* engroſſed the whole privilege of conferring this great honour. He, who was placed firſt in the *cenſor*'s roll, the liſt, which contained the names of all the ſenators, was deemed *princeps ſenatûs*. But the conſuls, dictators, and chief magiſtrates took place of him, and were his ſuperiors in the ſenate houſe.

The

The power of assembling the senate was now ratified in the *consuls*, and afterwards in the *prætors*, the *tribunes* of the commons, and the *interrex*, except upon extraordinary occasions; and then the *tribuni militum*, who were invested with consular power, and the *decemviri*, who were appointed to regulate the laws, could assemble the senate, when they thought proper: and this power was extended to other magistrates of less distinction, who were chosen in great emergencies, and upon unusual events. The power of assembling the senate.

If we consider the Romans in their new form of government, we shall find, that they owed their greatness to a steady perseverance, arising almost to an inveterate obstinacy, in all their undertakings. Of this kind, joined to an artful piece of barbarity, was that perverse and cruel action of BRUTUS, who persisted in the execution of his own children, contrary to the yearnings of nature, the dictates of humanity, and the outcries of the people. A short account of the conspiracy, and of the trial of these parricides, may serve to discover some of the Roman usages, and the state of judicature in those times. And it may first be premised, that the accusation was not in writing, as with us, but verbal only; and the accused were obliged to answer immediately; and when the prisoners refused to answer, or plead, or, as we say, stood mute, it was a confession of guilt, and an acknowledgment, that the accusation was just.

The sons of BRUTUS, and the nephews of COLLATINUS, had entered into an engagement with several of the young Patricians, to destroy the consuls, and to restore the kings. They had bound themselves up to this engagement by an horrid oath, and by dreadful ceremonies. They had sacrificed a man, they had made libations of his blood to the gods, and they had sworn over his trembling entrails, to abolish the commonwealth, and to reinstate the Tarquins. Their resolutions were discovered by VINDI- The conspiracy of the sons of BRUTUS, and the nephews of COLLATINUS.

cius, a Roman ſlave; and the people were immediately ſummoned to the *comitia*, where the conſuls, Brutus and Collatinus, ſat on the tribunal of juſtice. The priſoners, with their hands tied behind them, were faſtened to ſtakes. And Brutus began with the trial of his own ſons, Titus and Tiberius.

The trial of the ſons of Brutus.

The ſlave, who had diſcovered the conſpiracy, was examined, and his teſtimony was full, clear, and unanſwerable. The aſſociation, ſigned by the conſpirators, in favour of the Tarquinian family, was alſo produced; and the whole plot was ſo manifeſt, that the priſoners relied more upon the eloquence of their tears, than upon any other defence. The conſul Brutus roſe up with that kind of coolneſs, which rather meets with amazement than applauſe, and demanded what his ſons had to ſay in their own vindication. They were ſilent, and their ſilence confeſſed their guilt. They were three times called upon to defend themſelves, and as they ſtill continued ſilent, they were convicted upon the evidence, that had been given. And the ſentence of death was to be pronounced againſt them, when a general murmur of compaſſion diſcovered itſelf amongſt the ſenators, and the people. They pitied the father, and the uncle, and were willing to mitigate the ſentence, by petitioning the conſuls, in theſe words, and with one general voice, "Spare their lives, and ſend them in-
— "to baniſhment." But Brutus, inexorably rigid, and abſolutely determined not to depart from the ſtricteſt rules of juſtice, pronounced this ſentence againſt his two unhappy ſons, "*Lictors*, I deliver "them over to you, to execute the law upon them." The people were ſhocked at the inhumanity of his nature, and diſcovered in their looks all the marks of ſorrow and conſternation. But the conſul remained unmoved: he ſcorned to abate any one of the puniſhments allotted to the greateſt criminals. He ordered them to be beaten with rods in his preſence,

and

and he ſtaid to ſee their heads ſtruck off: when this laſt ſcene was over, he quitted the tribunal, and went home.

After the departure of BRUTUS, the trial of the AQUILII, nephews to COLLATINUS, fell to the ſhare of that conſul. His proceedings were very different from thoſe of his collegue: he would have allowed the priſoners one whole day to clear themſelves. This intended partiality enraged and ſurpriſed the people. But their aſtoniſhment was ſtill greater, when he ordered their ſlave, VINDICIUS, the principal witneſs againſt the conſpirators, to be delivered to his maſters; a piece of nepotiſm, which met with the oppoſition it deſerved. VALERIUS, a Roman of ſtrict virtue, although falſely ſuſpected to favour the Tarquins, having been joined by his friends and clients, reſcued VINDICIUS from the hands of the lictors, and ſaved the man, who had ſaved the ſtate. The tumult encreaſing, BRUTUS was called back to the *comitia*, where he made this remarkable ſpeech: "Romans, the authority I had over my children, made "me ſacrifice them to the public welfare. The au"thority, which the law gives you over all the ſub"jects of the commonwealth, leaves you to deter"mine the fate of the priſoners by your ſuffrages. "Either condemn my want of mercy, by inſtances "of lenity; or approve my firmneſs of mind, by "examples of juſtice." The *curiæ* immediately voted liberty and a reward to VINDICIUS, and condemned the conſpirators, firſt to undergo the ignominy of being whipt, and afterwards to loſe their heads. The trial of the AQUILII.

It is evident, that the people would have pardoned the ſons of BRUTUS, or at leaſt would have mitigated their puniſhment: but they were obliged to ſubmit to the judgement and deciſion of the conſul. The difficulty then preſents itſelf from the ſpeech of BRUTUS, on his return to the *comitia*. He tells the people, that he executed his ſons by his paternal au- Reflexions upon the behaviour of BRUTUS.

thority; but the pardon, or condemnation of the other priſoners, was veſted entirely in the *curiæ*. Certainly it was not. The ſpeech of BRUTUS was a piece of artifice, to gain the affections of the people. And we find afterwards, by diveſting himſelf in the ſame manner of a real authority, and tranſlating the power into the hands of the *curiæ*, he gained his point, in removing COLLATINUS from the conſulſhip. It is true, as a father, the Roman laws had given him the power over the lives of his children: but it is evident, he did not execute his ſons by virtue of thoſe laws. Such executions muſt have been private, as the offence, which incurred the puniſhment, could tend only to the perſon of the father, or the diſturbance of his private family. But the crimes of the ſons of BRUTUS were of another nature. They affected the public, and therefore the criminals underwent the puniſhment of the *faſces*, which, as freemen of *Rome*, they could not have undergone, unleſs they had been convicted of treaſon againſt the ſtate. BRUTUS, a man of infinite cunning and foreſight, knew when to looſen, and when to draw in the reins of power; and the people were amply ſatisfied with the appearance of an authority, which was granted only to fulfil the intentions of the conſul, and to forward the future accompliſhments of his deſigns.

The ſtate of *Rome*, which had formerly gone under the denomination of a kingdom, was now changed into a commonwealth. But the government itſelf ſuffered little or no alteration, except of names. The conſuls, as I have already obſerved, ſucceeded to all the rights and powers of the preceding kings. They had the care and diſpoſal of the treaſury. They had the right of declaring war, and of concluding peace; and the power of determining civil and criminal cauſes. JUNIUS BRUTUS and TARQUINIUS COLLATINUS were the firſt conſuls, whom the Romans elected. The latter was choſen in preference

to

to P. Valerius, whoſe mind was much chagrined, and whoſe ambition was extremely diſappointed at ſeeing a branch of the Tarquin family preferred to himſelf. From this diſappointment may be deduced the ſource of all the future actions of Valerius; actions, which firſt kindled the people into ſedition and outrages, and afterwards led them to graſp at arbitrary power. P. Valerius was a man of great virtues, and of great ambition: in talents, courage, and judgement, he was eſteemed ſuperior to the conſul Collatinus, who ſoon became a victim to the cunning of Brutus, and to the ambition of Valerius: nor need I trouble you with the particulars of a fact ſo univerſally known, as the abdication of Collatinus, and the election of Valerius in his ſtead. The new conſul, and his collegue Brutus, began their adminiſtration by making a law, which granted a general amneſty to all, who had followed the Tarquins, and who ſhould return within twenty days; but if in that time they did not appear, their effects were to be confiſcated, and their baniſhment was to be declared perpetual.

Tarquinius Superbus had at this juncture aſſembled an army of great force. The Romans, headed by their conſuls, went out to meet their enemies, and a battle enſued. Brutus fell in a ſingle combat with Aruns. The numbers of ſoldiers killed on each ſide were equal, and the victory remained dubious, till by a ſtratagem of a pretended voice from heaven, the Romans were encouraged, and the Tarquinians and Veientes were diſmayed into a precipitate and ſhameful flight. Valerius triumphed for his victory over the Tarquins. But it is not mentioned, whether this triumph was by his own authority, or by decree either of the ſenate, or of the people. We may preſume the triumph was aſſumed by his own authority: the kings had often triumphed, and, at preſent, the conſular power was equal to what the monarchical

monarchical power had been: otherwiſe the triumph muſt have been authoriſed by the ſenate; the people not having yet pretended to intermeddle in granting honours.

VALERIUS, after the death of BRUTUS, ſeemed in no haſte to have a collegue choſen. He omitted to aſſemble the people, and his delay gave room for jealouſy. It was ſurmiſed, that he intended to act alone. Men of his caſt of mind are impatient of equals, and very deſirous of reigning without a partner. The jealouſies of him were encreaſed by a magnificent houſe, which he was at this time building, upon that part of the hill *Palatinus*, called the upper *Velia*. This hill commanded the *Forum Romanum*, and the *Comitium*, ſo that the houſe appeared to the ſuſpicious Romans as a fortreſs, from whence he might command the whole city. Surmiſes of this ſort were too univerſal, not to reach the ears of the conſul, and his friends. He liſtened to advice, and haſtened to remove the murmurs of his fellow citizens. He ſent workmen in the night to pull down his great houſe, and the next morning he deſired to juſtify himſelf in a public ſpeech. As a preparation to prepoſſeſs his audience in his favour, he ordered his lictors to bow the *faſces* before the people. In this ſtep he ſervilely departed from the dignity of a conſul. Such a precedent was of dangerous conſequence; it elevated the thoughts of the people towards majeſty and power. LIVY, who makes the beſt ſpeeches of any hiſtorian, gives a peculiar turn to the oration of VALERIUS, concluding it in this manner: "[a] The liberty of "*Rome* ſhall never be endangered, Romans, by the "houſe of PUB. VALERIUS: your *Velia* ſhall be ſafe.

[a] *Non obſtabunt* P. VALERII *ædes libertati veſtræ, Quirites: tuta erit vobis Velia. Deferam non in planum modo ædes, ſed colli etiam ſubjiciam; ut vos ſupra ſuſpectum me civem habitetis. In Velia ædificent, quibus melius quam* P. VALERIO *creditur libertas.* LIV. lib. 2.

"I will

" I will not only bring my houſe into the plain, but " I will build it at the foot of the hill; that you " may dwell over the head of a citizen, whom you " ſuſpect. Let thoſe dwell in *Velia*, to whom you " can more ſafely entruſt your liberties, than to VALERIUS."

This ſpeech carried in it ſubmiſſion and reproach, and rouſed the multitude to look back on the former great actions of VALERIUS. Their jealouſies were immediately removed, and their fears were calmed, by reconſidering his ſuperior merits.

The *comitia* were now ordered to aſſemble; and the hiſtorians tell us, that the people were left entirely free in the election of a new conſul. Such an extent of power granted to the people, at this time, is very remarkable. They had a right to chuſe their kings, and afterwards their conſuls; but that choice was to be approved and confirmed by the ſenate. If the people had an entire freedom of choice, without any appeal to the ſenate, as upon this occaſion they ſeem to have aſſumed; that freedom was an infringement upon the rights of the ſenate, and can only be accounted for in this manner. VALERIUS, if we may judge of his views by his actions, aimed at ſuch a degree of popularity, as ſhould ſecure him in the government, and confirm him in future conſulſhips by the voice of the people. To effect this deſign, he not only found it neceſſary to weaken the dignity, and to leſſen the privileges of the conſuls and ſenate, but to augment the power, and heighten the authority of the people. Having attempted in vain to be a king, it is probable he turned his thoughts towards a perpetual conſulſhip. Here, my CHARLES, perhaps I may incur your cenſure; you will imagine me too ſevere againſt a Roman, whom hiſtory characteriſes as a patriot, and who, by various inſtances of humanity, attained the very ſummit of popular love and applauſe. But allow me to hint to you, that

that ambition, where ſhe aims to be moſt prevalent, puts on ſo reſembling a maſk of virtue, as renders the deceit very difficult to be perceived. Other vices will ſometimes venture boldly to ſhew themſelves, and will audaciouſly boaſt their acquiſitions in defiance to the cenſure of mankind: but ambition is always ſilent, and tries every ſhape to avoid a diſcovery. Her actions ſeem to flow from pure ſtreams, and living fountains. But upon a cloſe inquiſition, they will be found drawn from deep and dirty wells, or from pools of filth and mire, not unmixed with blood. Let us now reſume the hiſtory, and proceed to tell you, that SP. LUCRETIUS, the father of LUCRETIA, was choſen conſul in the room of BRUTUS. He was a man of a moſt unblemiſhed character, but being old, and infirm, lived not many days, leaving VALERIUS once again in the ſole poſſeſſion of the conſular power.

Before the election of another conſul, PUB. VALERIUS made ſo many laws in favour of the people, that he obtained the name of PUBLICOLA: and became the idol of the plebeians, whom, in return, he courted by all acts of ſervice, even to the deſtruction of the preſent conſtitution.

He had already obliged the lictors to lower the *faſces* before the aſſembly of the people; he now began his adminiſtration, by altering the *faſces* themſelves. He ordered the *axes* to be taken out of the *faſces*, leſt the ſight of thoſe inſtruments of death ſhould ſtrike a terror into the people. This was a freſh inſtance of ambitious cunning in PUBLICOLA. He knew, that trifling forms, and uſeleſs ceremonies, captivate the vulgar; and he was reſolved to ſeize every opportunity and circumſtance, that could endear him to their affections.

The laws of PUBLICOLA.

The laws he enacted, whilſt he remained alone in the conſulſhip, were theſe:

The

The firſt, that every criminal be allowed to appeal to the people: and that no final ſentence be given, except by decree of the curiæ.

The ſecond, that all artificers be diſcharged, and excuſed from paying tribute; and alſo all widows and old men, who have not children to ſupport and relieve them.

The third, that there be an abſolute ſubmiſſion to the orders of the conſuls; and that ſuch perſons, who diſobey ſuch orders, be fined in the value of five oxen, and two rams.

The fourth, that any perſon, who ſhall know of a formed deſign to uſurp the regal power, be permitted to kill the author of ſuch a deſign, without waiting till he be legally condemned. And that the ſame puniſhment be appointed for all thoſe, who uſurp any public office without conſent of the people.

Theſe four laws demand a moment's attention. The firſt is contrary to the eſtabliſhment of the ſtate under the conſuls: it removes all power from them, and fixes the dominion in the people. Nor can it be ſuppoſed, that one conſul could legally diſpoſe of the rights of his collegue, which were equal with his own. This law was the occaſion of much future miſchief to the republic.

The ſecond law is very humane, and very juſt; more eſpecially in regard to the widows and old men.

The third has the appearance of giving power to the conſuls, but the reality of that power is deſtroyed by the firſt law, which leaves a conſtant appeal from the conſular decrees to the people.

The fourth law was probably enacted to ſhew the Romans, what an abhorrence PUBLICOLA entertained of monarchy: the latter part was entirely agreeable to the people.

Hitherto the public treaſure had been committed and entruſted to the care of the kings, and, after their expulſion, to the conſuls. PUBLICOLA, by his own

own authority, removed this truſt from the conſuls to the people, who choſe out of their own body two *quæſtors*, from hence called *quæſtores ærarii*, to whom they delivered the management and cuſtody of the treaſury.

Thus did one man, inveſted with the might and majeſty, but detained from the title of a king, by various innovations, and notorious infringements upon the conſular and ſenatorial rights, create and confirm a new right in the people. And thus were the actions of PUBLICOLA more arbitrary in their beginning, and, as it afterwards proved, more pernicious in their conſequence, than the edicts of king TARQUIN the proud.

MARCUS HORATIUS PULVILLUS, according to LIVY, ſucceeded SP. LUCRETIUS in the conſulſhip. A moſt flagrant inſtance of the envy and ambition of PUBLICOLA, and his party, happened within the ſame year. The temple of JUPITER in the capitol was not yet dedicated; the conſuls therefore caſt lots; chance gave the honour of dedication to HORATIUS. The conſul PUBLICOLA was obliged to march againſt the Veientes. The friends of PUBLICOLA, whom LIVY calls the *Valerii*, reſented, in a very unbecoming manner, the glory fallen to the ſhare of HORATIUS, of dedicating ſo famous a temple. They tried all methods to prevent the dedication. All their ſtratagems proved abortive. At length driven to the laſt reſource of malice and revenge, they abruptly informed the conſul, in the very moment while he was holding the poſt of the temple, and addreſſing his prayer to JUPITER, that his ſon was dead; and they added farther, that on this melancholy occaſion it would be indecent, and improper, to purſue the dedication of the temple. He received the account with intrepidity and fortitude. It is probable he imagined it falſe; nor would he ſuffer himſelf to be longer interrupted, than to give orders for the burial of his ſon; and

continuing

continuing to hold the poſt of the temple in his hand, he finiſhed his prayer, and dedicated the edifice to JUPITER.

In the enſuing year PUBLICOLA was rechoſen, and TITUS LUCRETIUS was elected his collegue. The Romans were now threatened by a meſſage from PORSENNA, king of the Hetrurians. He had prepared a very numerous army to attack *Rome*, and to reeſtabliſh in the throne the Tarquinian family, who had taken refuge at his court. The ſenate, upon this occaſion, appeared under the utmoſt terror and amazement. Their fears proved of uſe and happineſs to the people. They immediately enacted ſeveral laws ſuitable to the neceſſities of the populace. They renewed ſuch inſtitutions as had been aboliſhed by TARQUINIUS SUPERBUS. The meaner people were exempted for ever from the ſervile labours, to which that king had ſubjected them. They were alſo exempted from paying tribute towards the expences of the *militia*; a tax, which had been always enacted in time of war. The tax on entries was taken off: all proviſions came free into the city: every Roman was allowed to ſell ſalt publickly; nor was that commodity to be any longer monopolized by particular perſons. The tax on ſalt had been eſtabliſhd by the kings.

The ſenate aſſigned COCLES, in reward of his gallant behaviour upon the bridge, a real eſtate, conſiſting of as much land as could be encloſed within a circular furrow by a plough in one day. By this donation we may conclude, that the ſenate had the diſpoſal of the city lands, and the power of granting public rewards: but theſe powers were always in conjunction with the conſuls, without whom, the ſenators were a body without a head, and with whom, they appeared a body without a heart: or, to own to you very freely my own opinion, I look upon the ſenate

nate in the commencement of the commonwealth, to be no more than the echo of the conſuls.

Porsenna, after the famous attempt againſt his life by Mutius Scævola, ſent ambaſſadors to *Rome* with propoſitions of peace. The king of *Hetruria* had been much alarmed at the intrepidity of Mutius, who, ſtill to encreaſe his fears, had declared, that three hundred Romans were engaged in a conſpiracy to deſtroy him. The Hetrurian envoys were admitted into the ſenate, where, among other demands, they inſiſted, that the Tarquins ſhould either be reſtored to their eſtates, or ſhould receive an equivalent. Publicola prevailed upon the ſenate, ever obedient to his inclinations, to comply with their demands. But the populace, aſſembled in centuries, acted a part more worthy of Romans: they refuſed to reſtore the lands demanded by Tarquin, till they had made their complaints of that tyrant to Porsenna himſelf, who having heard the allegations of the Romans, and being incenſed at the cruelties of the Tarquins, renounced his alliance with that family, and made a peace with *Rome*.

Let me offer a conjecture upon the foregoing circumſtances. Publicola had the ſenate abſolutely under his command; and he imagined the people, whom he had ſo often gratified, would be implicitly obedient to his voice. He aſſembled them in centuries, that there might be an unanimity in the conſuls, ſenate, and people, to receive the Hetrurian terms of peace. But herein I apprehend he was miſtaken. The plebeians, by the many indulgent acts lately paſſed in their favour, began to grow conſcious of the ſtrength of power, and therefore refuſed, or rather deferred the offers of Porsenna, that they might, in this inſtance, ſhew an oppoſition to the arbitrary deciſions of the conſuls, and the ſervile acquieſcence of the ſenators.

When

When the peace was concluded, the ſenate erected a ſtatue in honour of Porsenna. They ſent an embaſſy to him with various preſents; a throne adorned with ivory; a ſceptre; a crown of gold, and a triumphant robe. Theſe acts could not interfere with ambition; and while the ſenate were pleaſed with ſuch trifling powers, it may be preſumed they enjoyed them without controul,

During the conſulſhip of Marcus Valerius and P. Posthumius, the Sabines committed devaſtations in the Roman territories. The conſuls ſent an embaſſy to demand ſatisfaction. The Sabines returned a contemptuous anſwer. War enſued. The Romans obtained an entire victory over the Sabines. They took the Sabine camp; and the conſuls gave the plunder of it to the Roman ſoldiers. The conſuls triumphed. The privileges and honours, beſtowed by the ſenate upon this occaſion, were not only great, but extraordinary. The ſenate built a houſe for Valerius; the door of which, contrary to the Roman cuſtom, opened outwards into the ſtreet. To Posthumius the ſenate granted the privilege of a burial place, for himſelf and his family, within the walls of *Rome*. The permiſſion was againſt an expreſs law: *Hominem mortuum in urbem ne ſepelito, neve urito.* But while the ſenators applied their bounties to the conſuls, no laws could interrupt their munificence.

From this time to the conſulſhip of Sp. Cassius Uscellinus and Opiter Virginius Tricostus, the ſenate remained in the uſual ſtate of nominal power, and real inability. Skirmiſhes, battles, truces, and meſſages, had continued alternately between the Romans and the Sabines; till the conſul Sp. Cassius gave this year ſuch an overthrow to the Sabines, as reduced them to make propoſitions of peace. They ſent an embaſſy to the conſul, offering him terms of friendſhip, which he refuſed to accept without an order from the ſenate; to whom he immediately communicated

municated the porpoſals of the Sabines. Here, CHARLES, is the firſt inſtance I can gather, wherein a conſul refuſed to act from his own power, and applied for orders to the ſenate. PUBLICOLA died in the preceding [a] conſulſhip, and from his death may be dated the acquiſitions of power, which accrued to the ſenate of *Rome*.

The Romans ſtill laboured under difficulties in their new form of government. Many of their neighbours, who had been in alliance with the kings, renounced alliance with the republic; particularly the Latins, who endeavoured, by all methods, at the reſtoration of the Tarquin family. A conſpiracy among the ſlaves was concerted this [b] year. Their deſign was to ſeize the citadel and towers, and to ſet fire to the whole city of *Rome*. The plot was diſcovered, the conſpirators received the puniſhment allotted to ſlaves. They were firſt beaten with rods, and then crucified. Murmurs and ſeditions grew contagious among the citizens. The Latins were preparing arms, and collecting troops with great alacrity. In this ſituation the Romans were again reduced to think of ſheltering themſelves under the protection of a ſingle magiſtrate, whoſe power ſhould be abſolute, and his decrees beyond appeal. They intended to give him the moſt ample prerogatives of a king, with this reſerve, that his reign ſhould be temporary, and his office ſhould ceaſe at the end of ſome months. But this project was deferred at preſent. We ſhall find it hereafter executed in a more difficult conjuncture.

In the enſuing year, when SERVIUS SULPITIUS and MANIUS TULLIUS were choſen conſuls, the Latins ſent embaſſadors to *Rome*. The embaſſy in appearance brought propoſitions in favour of the Tarquinian family, and of *Fidenæ*, an ancient city of *Latium*, at

[a] Of P. POSTHUMIUS and MENENIUS AGRIPPA.

[b] POSTHUMUS COMINIUS and T. LARTIUS were conſuls.

that

that time beſieged by the Romans. But the chief point was to raiſe a ſedition in the city. The conduct of which deſign was committed to the management of two brothers, PUBLIUS and MARCUS, relations of TARQUINIUS SUPERBUS. Theſe men were unequal to the part, which they had undertaken; they were timid, ſuperſtitious, and diſtracted by omens and dreams; ſo that when moſt of the Roman ſlaves, and many of the meaner citizens had engaged in the conſpiracy, and were firm and reſolute in their deſign of overturning the government, the two brothers, actuated by fear and viſionary dangers, revealed the plot, and the names of the conſpirators, to SULPITIUS. The behaviour of the conſul and of the ſenate was very different, and very remarkable upon this occaſion. SULPITIUS ſecreted the two informers, and aſſembled the ſenate. The Latin embaſſadors were called in, their demands and propoſitions were rejected, and they were diſmiſſed; the conſul then informed the ſenate of the conſpiracy. The fathers, at the thought of danger, were exceedingly alarmed. The law of PUBLICOLA, whereby the definitive ſentence was conveyed to the people, hindered any proper ſtep to be taken. Such numbers of the citizens were involved in the guilt, that an appeal to the plebeians was rendered very hazardous. The plot was certain, but the proof was difficult. The witneſſes were aliens, and enemies: their evidence might not avail, and if the conſpirators were acquitted, immediate ruin muſt enſue. In caſes of imminent danger, courage and cowardice equally appear. The latter was very viſible in the ſenate of *Rome*, as the former was moſt apparent in the conſul; the dejected fathers loſt all preſence of mind, they were incapable of ſtemming the torrent of difficulties, with which they were ſurrounded: and they placed upon the conſul the entire burthen of puniſhing the guilty, and delivering the ſtate. He acted with great wiſdom and for-

titude. He drew the conſpirators by a ſtratagem into the *forum*, where finding themſelves inveſted, and diſcovered, they acknowledged their crimes, and were ordered to be put to death. The people had been ſuddenly convened by *curiæ*, and were in too great conſternation to give oppoſition to the decree. However many of the conſpirators eſcaped, and it was judged proper, at that juncture, to carry the enquiries no farther. Sacrifices and expiations ſupplied the place of puniſhments. The times were dangerous; the people powerful and mutinous. The ſenate was timid and inactive. The Tarquin race had many friends without, and many well-wiſhers within the city walls. Impending wars threatned from abroad: plots and inſurrections were to be apprehended at home. Such was the ſituation of the republic, in the two hundred and fifty third year of *Rome*.

In the twelfth conſulſhip, and the year of *Rome* two hundred and fifty five, the ſmothered flames of popular ſedition burſt forth into open fire. Tumults aroſe under pretence of the hardſhips and oppreſſions ſuſtained by the debtors from the creditors. If we look into the Roman laws concerning creditors and debtors, we ſhall find great room for complaint, and great want of reformation and amendment. The laws were theſe:

The laws relating to debtors and creditors.

When the debtor was inſolvent, it was in the power of the creditor to put him in irons, or to ſell him as a ſlave.

After a certain number of citations, the law granted to the debtor thirty two days of grace. In that time he was to raiſe the money, for which he was accountable. The words of the law are, *æris confeſſi, rebuſque jure judicatis, triginta dies juſti ſunto. Poſt dein manum endo jacito. Vincito, aut nervo, aut compedibus.* The *triginta dies juſti* are thirty days entire, between the day of giving judgement, and the day when the creditor might ſeize his debtor: theſe two days

days reckoned as part of the time made up the two and thirty days. After the expiration of this allotted time, if the debtor had not diſcharged the debt, he was led to the *prætor*, and delivered by the *prætor* to the mercy of his creditor, who bound and kept him in chains during ſixty days, often whipping him moſt unmercifully.

Succeſſive to this ſcene of cruelty, the debtor, during three market days following, was brought to the tribunal of the *prætor*; and a public cryer proclaimed in the *forum* the debt, for which the priſoner was detained. It ſometimes happened, that upon ſuch proclamations, generoſity, pity, or friendſhip, induced particular perſons to redeem the priſoner, and pay the debt. But if no friend appeared, in behalf of the debtor, after the third market day, the creditor had a right to inflict the puniſhments appointed thus by the law. *Tertiis nundinis capite pœnas dato, aut trans Tiberim peregrè venum duito.*

It is farther ſaid, that if there were ſeveral creditors, they were allowed to divide the body of the priſoner into ſeveral parts, and to ſhare the parts amongſt themſelves, according to the ſums, which they demanded. But humanity, and cuſtom, ſtopped the execution of ſo rigorous a law; nor was it ever put in practice.

The original purport of theſe laws, inſtituted in the days of monarchy, and perhaps by ROMULUS himſelf, tended to promote œconomy, and to encourage labour and induſtry. They were framed to give the Roman people a dread of contracting debts; they were deſigned to quell the growth of idleneſs, and extravagant expence of every ſort: but the puniſhments are of ſo ſevere a kind, that they ſhew more cruelty than policy in the lawgiver. While the people were excluded from any power in the ſtate, they were obliged to ſubmit to every inſtitution and decree of their ſuperiors: but when PUBLICOLA had

made ſuch extenſive laws in their favour, it is by no means amazing, that they ſhould endeavour to redreſs grievances of ſuch infinite prejudice to their perſons, and liberties, and ſo intolerable to human nature itſelf. The time and manner, in which they choſe to make their complaints, was improper and inſolent; it was at a time, when the devaſtation of *Rome* was threatned by an approaching army of the Latins; and when the Romans were devoid of all foreign ſuccours and alliance. The manner in which they mutinied, was by an abſolute refuſal to be enliſted in the troops neceſſary to be levied for the common defence; and the Latins were almoſt arrived at the gates of *Rome*, when the ſenate was convened by the conſuls to meet upon this critical occaſion.

Under theſe unhappy circumſtances, the fathers ſeem to have exerted themſelves in a more ſpirited manner, than they had ſhewn ſince the eſtabliſhment of the commonwealth. They were divided in their opinions, according as their property was more or leſs concerned. Their ſpeeches were rigorous or mild, as ſelf-views were more or leſs rooted in the ſpeakers: their votes were given with the utmoſt noiſe and clamour. But the perilous ſituation of the ſtate required ſome immediate expedient; after variety of diſcord, the combuſtions ended in an unanimous decree of appointing a *dictator*.

The appointment of a dictator.

The deſign of creating ſuch a magiſtrate was not entirely new. It had been intended, as is already mentioned, upon former apprehenſions of danger. The power of the *dictator* was to be boundleſs; the exiſtence of that power was limited to ſix months. The plebeians, who did not foreſee to what end this alteration of government tended, gave their votes in the *comitia* in favour of the decree; and blindly permitted the ſenators to proceed to the election of one independent commander, who being conſtituted ſuperior to the conſuls was beyond the reach of PUBLICOLA'S

LICOLA's law. T. LARTIUS was proclaimed *dictator*; and the people immediately liſted themſelves without any murmurs. Ten legions were levied; a greater army than ever had been raiſed before.

T. LARTIUS is created dictator.

LARTIUS the *dictator* created SP. CASSIUS general of the Roman horſe. The regal power being revived in the perſon of the *dictator*, he had the diſpoſal of this high office, which was the ſecond dignity in the ſtate, and anſwered to the *Tribunus celerum*, choſen by the kings. LARTIUS was determined to ſuſtain his dictatorſhip with as much majeſty as poſſible. He was attended conſtantly by twenty four *lictors*. He reſtored to the *faſces* the axes, which had been taken away by PUBLICOLA. His outward behaviour was now as pompous and ſolemn, as it had been before humble and eaſy. He drew to himſelf the fear and reſpect of the people. The Latins ſent a detachment to waſte part of the Roman territory: the party was intercepted; many were killed, and many taken priſoners. On this occaſion, the *dictator* behaved himſelf with the utmoſt generoſity. He ordered the wounded to be taken care of, and their wounds to be dreſſed. He releaſed the priſoners: and returning to *Rome*, he reſigned his dictatorſhip, although the ſix months were not expired.

He reſigns his office.

Obſervations on that reſignation.

This laſt action, the reſignation of his office, has met with univerſal applauſe. The merit of it is indiſputable. Humility and diſintereſtedneſs were the only motives, that could induce him to part with a more extenſive authority than had hitherto been ever enjoyed by any Roman. But in point of policy, he ought to have retained the dictatorſhip, till he had quelled the ſeditious ſpirits at *Rome*; eſpecially when faction lurked within her boſom, and mutiny was taking root within her walls. A *dictator* only could have reduced the people to obedience: A *dictator* only could have aboliſhed PUBLICOLA's law. Lenity, in times of ſedition, becomes a fault; and preſent mer-

cy to the guilty proves future puniſhment to the innocent. A modern writer [a] obſerves, that the dictatorſhip of LARTIUS was free from proſcriptions, and executions. It ought to have been filled with both. The times required the utmoſt ſeverity: and therefore, CHARLES, although I agree with all the hiſtorians, who proclaim LARTIUS to have been a good man, and not only a brave, but a compaſſionate general; yet I cannot pronounce him a man of exquiſite policy: he was too remiſſive of his power, whilſt he enjoyed it, and too haſty in delivering up a prerogative, which he ought to have exerted by ſecuring domeſtic tranquillity to the commonwealth.

The truce with the Latins expired, when AULUS POSTHUMIUS and TITUS VERGINIUS took poſſeſſion of the conſulſhip. The Latins immediately made preparations of war; and although ſedition was not as yet ſufficiently ripe to be openly avowed at *Rome*; yet it was thought proper to place the conduct of the war in the hands of a *dictator*. POSTHUMIUS was choſen into this high office. He gained a conſummate victory over the Latins at the lake *Regillus*. The defeat obliged them to ſend deputies to *Rome*, imploring to be received, either as allies or ſubjects. The ſenate, to whom, by the complaiſance of POSTHUMIUS, the power of making terms of peace was transferred, commanded the Latins to reſtore all priſoners taken during the war; to deliver up all deſerters; and to baniſh king TARQUIN, and the Roman exiles, out of the territories of *Latium*. Theſe terms were thankfully received by the Latins. And now K. TARQUINIUS SUPERBUS, the laſt of his name and family, two of his ſons having fallen in battle at the Regilian lake, was driven out of *Latium* at ninety years of age. He was rejected by the Sabines, the Hetrurians and other nations. The miſerable

Victory over the Latins by the dictator POSTHUMIUS.

Death of K. TARQUIN the proud.

[a] CATROU.

old

old king ſurvived theſe misfortunes ſome few months, and died after an exile of fourteen years, at *Cumæ* in *Campania*, where he had found an aſylum by the favour of the tyrant ARISTODEMUS.

The view of the Roman hiſtory purſued no farther.

I ſhall go no farther in the early part of the Roman Hiſtory. With TARQUIN died all views of monarchy. The conſular government has been the favourite topic of various hiſtorians: but few authors ſeem to have conſidered ſufficiently the conſtitution of *Rome*, while ſhe was governed ſucceſſively by her ſeven kings. The regal government, like the foundation of a noble building, has been in a manner buried under ground; while the conſular ſtate, a ſuperſtructure erected upon that foundation, is decorated and placed in the moſt conſpicuous point of light. The Romans date their freedom from the creation of their conſuls: they imagine, that in the deſtruction of monarchy they diſburdened themſelves from the yoke of ſlavery. The fact is doubtful; at leaſt it will admit of much ſpeculation. But the abſolute ruin of all the Roman liberties may certainly be dated from the choice of a perpetual dictator. But I will not detain you, even by hinting at particulars, ſo often related, and ſo perfectly well known.

The life of PLINY continued.

Let us return to PLINY, and reſume the thread of his life from the age of eighteen. I am not certain, that the epiſtles to TACITUS [a], giving an account of his uncle PLINY's death, ought to be dated this year [b]. It is poſſible they may have been written within the year; but they have the appearance of a more diſtant date, eſpecially from the expreſſion, *Dubito conſtantiam vocare, an imprudentiam, debeam; agebam enim duodeviceſimum annum.* However as I paſs through the annals, I ſhall endeavour to allot ſome of the epiſtles to their particular years.

[a] Book 6. Ep. 16 and 20. [b] A. U. C. 831.

The

The elder PLINY outlived VESPASIAN a very ſhort time: the emperor died on the twenty fourth of *June*, and PLINY periſhed on the twenty third of *Auguſt*.

The reign of TITUS.

TITUS ſucceeded his father VESPASIAN, not without ſome oppoſition from his younger brother DOMITIAN, who with no leſs arrogance, than ingratitude, endeavoured to propagate a malicious and groundleſs report, that TITUS had altered his father's will in his own favour, and that VESPASIAN had appointed him [DOMITIAN] a joint partner in the empire with his brother.

PLINY begins to plead at the bar.

In the ſecond year of TITUS, and the nineteenth year of his own age, PLINY began to plead in the public courts [a]. In the ſame year, the capitol, which had been rebuilt by VESPASIAN, was again reduced to aſhes [b]; and a great part of the city deſtroyed by a fire, which raged three days and three nights; and which was followed by the moſt dreadful peſtilence, that had been ever known in *Rome*. Thus was the ſhort reign of TITUS one continued ſcene of calamities; firſt, by the eruption of VESUVIUS, then, by a fire in the metropolis, and again, by the malignity of a plague. TITUS, the *Deliciæ humani generis*, died on the thirteenth day of *September*, in the third year of his imperial dignity [c]. DOMITIAN, his ſucceſſor, ordered divine honours to be paid him, and appointed PLINY, now in the twentieth, or twenty firſt year of his age, to be the *Flamen*, or high-prieſt, to this new deity; a circumſtance, which proves PLINY to be married at this time. The *Fla-*

TITUS dies, and is ſucceeded by DOMITIAN.

[a] *Undeviceſimo ætatis anno dicere in foro cœpi.* Lib. 5. Ep. 8.

[b] It had been ſet on fire, and utterly conſumed by NERO, in the eleventh year of his reign. He evaded the ſcandal of the action by accuſing the Chriſtians; many of whom he tortured, and put to death upon the occaſion. This was called the firſt general perſecution of the Church.

[c] A. U. C. 833.

mines,

mines, originally inſtituted by NUMA, were three in number, or rather only one, the *Flamen Dialis* of JUPITER. Soon afterwards, a *Flamen* was deſtined to MARS, called *Flamen Martialis*, and another to ROMULUS under the title of *Flamen Quirinalis*. In time, the number was ſo increaſed, that the *Flamines* were as numerous as the Gods. Each emperor, as ſoon as he was ranked among the deities, had a *Flamen* allotted to him: but no man was eligible into the ſacred order of the *Flamines*, who was not married. The *Flamen Titi Veſpaſiani* was the firſt public office, which PLINY enjoyed.

PLINY created *Flamen Titi Veſpaſiani*.

In the ſecond year of DOMITIAN PLINY engaged himſelf in military employments. I imagine his turn of mind was more inclined to philoſophy, than to arms: but he followed the prevailing method of education, and endeavoured to accompliſh himſelf not only in the art of eloquence, but of war. In an epiſtle to TITUS ARISTO [a], he mentions the miſerable times, in which he was a ſoldier. His deſcription is remarkable; and the ſtile of it is nervous. *Nos juvenes fuimus quidem in caſtris; ſed cùm ſuſpecta virtus, inertia in pretio, cùm ducibus auctoritas nulla, nulla militibus verecundia, nuſquam imperium, nuſquam obſequium, omnia ſoluta, turbata, atque etiam in contrarium verſa, poſtremo oblivi ſcenda magis, quam tenenda.*

Such was the beginning of DOMITIAN's reign; a prince, who anſwers the character given of him by DION: "he deſtroyed with the quickneſs of lightning [b]:" and indeed the velocity of the deſtruction could ſcarce be leſs rapid, when, ſo immediately after his acceſſion to the throne, we find the ſtate of *Rome*, as deſcribed by PLINY, reduced to the moſt abject degree of ſlavery.

[a] Book 8. Ep. 14.

[b] Πολλὰ μὲν ὡς σκηπτὸς ὀξέως ἐμπίπτων τισὶν. Dio. Lib. 67.

PLINY

Pliny a military tribune in *Syria*.

Pliny went into *Syria*, in the character of a military tribune; and while he remained in that province, he cultivated a friendſhip with Euphrates [a], and Artemidorus [b], two philoſophers of remarkable eminence. Men of Virtue and literature were eſteemed by him, in whatever ſtation they appeared. He diſtinguiſhes, in a moſt particular and affectionate manner, three of his fellow ſoldiers, Tyro [c], Pollio [d], and Lupus [e], who, like himſelf, were afterwards farther dignified by civil employments. The military tribunes were erected at the ſame time of the year, the twenty fourth of *October*, when the conſuls were declared.

He returns out of *Syria*.

His return out of *Syria*, I think, may be dated in the third year of Domitian: in the twenty ſecond, or twenty third year of his own age. He was detained by contrary winds, in the iſland of *Icaria*, one of the Cyclades. During his ſtay there he compoſed a poem in elegiac verſe upon the iſland, and the ſea that ſurrounds it [f]. The verſes probably turned upon the fabulous ſtory of Icarus, of whom Ovid ſays,

[a] Euphrates *philoſophus, hunc ego in Syria, cum adoleſcentulus militarem, penitus, et domi inſpexi, amarique ab eo laboravi, etſi non erat laborandum.* Lib. 1. Ep. 10.

[b] *Artemidorum ipſum jam tum, cum in Syria tribunus militarem, arcta familiaritate complexus ſum.* Lib. 3. Ep. 11.

[c] *Caleſtrium Tyronem familiariſſime diligo, et privatis mihi et publicis neceſſitudinibus implicitum. Simul militavimus.* Lib. 7. Ep. 16.

[d] *Claudius Pollio amari a te cupit. Vir rectus, integer, quietus, ac pene ultra modum (ſi quis tamen ultra modum) verecundus. Hunc, cum ſimul militaremus, non ſolum ut commilito inſpexi.* Lib. 7. Ep. 31.

[e] *Nymphidium Lupum, domine, primipilarem, commilitonem habui, cum ipſe tribunus eſſem, ille præfectus: inde familiariter diligere cæpi.* Lib. 10. Ep. 19. Longolii.

[f] *Mox cum e militia rediens, in Icaria inſula ventis detinerer, Latinos elegos in illud ipſum mare, ipſamque inſulam feci.* Lib. 7. Ep. 4.

Tranſit

Tranſit et Icarium, lapſas ubi perdidit alas
Icarus, et vaſtæ nomina fecit aquæ [a].

The original name of the iſland was *Ichthyoëſſa*. The etymology is given by *Athenæus*, Ἐκαλεῖτο δὲ καὶ Ἰκαρὸς πρότερον Ἰχθυόεσσα, διὰ τὸ ἐν αὐτῇ τῶν ἰχθύων πλῆθος [b].

The queſtorſhip was the next public employment in which PLINY appeared. He was created *Quæſtor Cæſaris* in the twelfth year of DOMITIAN's reign. His friend CALESTRIUS TYRO was made *Quæſtor Cæſaris* at the ſame time [c]. This magiſtracy was the firſt degree of ſenatorial honours. It gave an admiſſion into the ſenate. In ſearching for the exact age neceſſary to obtain the queſtorſhip, you will find a great variety of opinions. I have affixed it to the thirtieth year of our author's age; agreeable to the law of POMPEY the great, which PLINY particularly mentions in a letter to TRAJAN, *Cautum eſt, domine, Pompejâ lege, ne quis capiat magiſtratum, neve ſit in ſenatu minor annorum triginta* [d]. The original, and even the later laws of *Rome* had been ſo totally altered, and ſo irrecoverably ſubverted, that it is ſcarce poſſible to obtain any certain rule for our direction. The particular æra, that is now before us, was corrupt, licentious, and in every reſpect diſorderly: ſo that it is leſs difficult to aſcertain the employments, which PLINY enjoyed, than the time when he enjoyed them.

PLINY appointed *quæſtor Cæſaris*.

The next year PLINY exerciſed the office of tribune of the people, during which magiſtracy he withdrew himſelf from all pleadings at the bar. He ſays modeſtly, in a letter to POMPEIUS FALCO upon the occa-

PLINY made *tribunus plebis*.

[a] Ovidii Faſtorum. Lib. 4. ℣. 283. [b] Athenæus 1. 24.
[c] *Simul quæſtores Cæſaris fuimus.* Lib. 7. Ep. 16.
[d] Lib. 10. Ep. 83. LONGOLII.

ſion,

ſion, *Ipſe, cum tribunus eſſem, erraverim fortaſſe, qui me eſſe aliquid putavi, ſed tanquam eſſem, abſtinui cauſis agendis* [a]. From this expreſſion, and indeed from the tenor of the whole letter, he ſeemed fully determined to raiſe the tribuneſhip, if poſſible, to its primitive dignity. His greatneſs of mind would not ſuffer him to go on, like his predeceſſors, in debaſing an employment, which by the ſubmiſſion of the people, and the ambition of their magiſtrates, was not only fallen from the firſt original, but was become of little or no importance. If all the preceding tribunes had acted in the ſame reſolute manner, the Cæſars might poſſibly have been emperors, but they certainly could not have been tyrants.

PLINY appointed prætor.

In the thirty ſecond year of his age PLINY was appointed prætor. In this year, the thirteenth of DOMITIAN's reign, the philoſophers were baniſhed [b]. ARTEMIDORUS, who reſided at *Rome*, and who had contracted an intimate friendſhip with PLINY, from the time that he was in *Syria*, was obliged to quit the city. PLUTARCH returned to *Chæronea* [c], and EPICTETUS returned to *Nicopolis* [d]. The cruelties of DOMITIAN encreaſed every day. CNÆUS JULIUS AGRICOLA, the father-in-law of TACITUS, and one of the greateſt men, that even the Roman annals can produce, died this year, poiſoned, as was generally ſurmiſed, by the emperor's orders. TACITUS ſeems to hint at ſome latent villainy, when he ſays, *Occiſo* CIVICA *nuper, nec* AGRICOLÆ *conſilium deerat, nec* DOMITIANO *exemplum* [e]. AGRICOLA himſelf ſeemed

[a] Lib. 1. Ep. 23

[b] *Equidem cum eſſent philoſophi ab urbe ſummoti fui prætor.* Lib. 3. Ep. 11.

[c] PLUTARCH was a native of *Chæronea*.

[d] A city of *Armenia*. EPICTETUS returned to *Rome* after DOMITIAN's death.

[e] TACITI, *vita* AGRICOLÆ. Sect. 42.

under

under no ſuch ſuſpicions: at leaſt he met his fate with a noble firmneſs [a].

PLINY and HERENNIUS SENECIO were appointed, by the ſenate, advocates for the province of *Bætica*, againſt BÆBIUS MASSA. *Dederat me ſenatus cum* HERENNIO SENECIONE *advocatum provinciæ Bæticæ contra* BÆBIUM MASSAM [b]. The behaviour of SENECIO, upon this occaſion, was noble, and undaunted. PLINY mentions it very particularly [c]. BÆBIUS MASSA was condemned to a forfeiture of his goods; and SENECIO, aware, that the decree of the ſenate might not be juſtly executed, or that the goods might be privately reſtored to MASSA, preferred a petition to the conſuls, that the perſons, to whom the goods of MASSA were aſſigned in cuſtody, ſhould not be permitted to embezzle them. Such a behaviour alarmed MASSA, and alarmed DOMITIAN. The murder of SENECIO was immediately reſolved upon, and perpetrated. Soon afterwards, HELVIDIUS PRISCUS, and ARULENUS RUSTICUS, were put to death. JUNIUS MAURICUS the brother, and POMPONIA GRATILLA, the wife of RUSTICUS, were baniſhed: as were alſo ARRIA, the wife of THRASEA PÆTUS, and FANNIA her daughter. All theſe were the intimate friends of PLINY. Three of them were barbarouſly murdered, the other four tyrannically ſent into exile, during the year of PLINY's prætorian magiſtracy. When his office, as *prætor urbanus*, was expired, he withdrew from all public employments. It was the moſt prudent ſtep, which he could take. Thunderbolts were flying around him. Many of his beſt friends were killed, or baniſhed. His own words deſcribe the ſenate, *Proſpeximus curiam*; *ſed curiam trepidam et elinguem, cum dicere, quod velles, periculoſum*;

PLINY retires from all public employments.

[a] *Ut perhibent, qui interfuerunt noviſſimis ſermonibus tuis, conſtans et libens fatum excepiſti, tamquam pro virili portione innocentiam principi donares,* Ib. Sect. 45.

[b] Lib. 7. Ep. 33. [c] Lib. 3. Ep. 11.

quod

quod nolles, miſerum eſſet [a]. In ſuch times, *a private ſtation was the only poſt of honour.*

Every year became ſignalized by the inhuman actions of DOMITIAN. Neither flies nor ſenators eſcaped him. He even grew wanton in his cruelties; and took particular delight in terrifying perſons of the moſt illuſtrious families in *Rome*. A remarkable inſtance of this barbarous kind of levity is related by DION CASSIUS. "DOMITIAN, ſays that author, "invited many of the chief knights and ſenators to "an entertainment. They came at the hour ap- "pointed. They were conducted into a hall cover- "ed with black, and hung round with a few me- "lancholy lamps. The lamps only afforded light "enough to diſcover certain ſepulchral pillars, up- "on which every perſon ſaw his own name engraved. "The company remained here ſome time, in that "kind of dreadful ſilence, which attends an appre- "henſion of immediate deſtruction. On a ſudden, "the doors of the hall flew open, and a great num- "ber of perſons appeared naked, and painted black; "each held a torch and dagger in his hand. They "were followed by others, who ſerved up a funeral "repaſt. The conſternation of the invited gueſts "encreaſed, and their fears were redoubled; when "inſtantaneouſly the diſmal ſcene was finiſhed by a "declaration from one of the miniſters of darkneſs, "that the emperor gave the company leave to de- "part." I omit ſeveral circumſtances, that tend to exaggerate the terror of the feaſt. We could ſmile at ſuch an entertainment, if DOMITIAN's ſanguinary diſpoſition did not ſtrike us with a ſerious abhorrence even to his name.

The death of DOMITIAN.

He continued to exerciſe his cruelties till the ſixteenth year of his reign; when he was killed by STEPHANUS PARTHENIUS, and other officers of his

[a] Lib. 8. Ep. 14.

houſhold.

houſhold [a]. His death was a fortunate event to the Roman people in general, and to PLINY in particular; as we may preſume from an expreſſion in one of his epiſtles [b]. *Nihil notabile ſecutum, niſi fortè quod non fui reus: futurus, ſi* DOMITIANUS, *ſub quo hæc acciderunt, diutius vixiſſet. Nam in ſcrinio ejus datus a Caro de me libellus inventus eſt.*

To DOMITIAN ſucceeded NERVA, a prince, whoſe virtues ſeem rather to have been of the negative, than of the poſitive kind. He was not cruel, but he was not enterprizing. His piety conſiſted in a belief of prodigies, and a reliance in the prophetic viſions of APOLLONIUS TYANÆUS, a magician. He was humane, becauſe he was timid [c]. He aſſumed the ſovereignty, becauſe he ſaw no competitor. On the other hand, it may be alledged, that he was unequal to the fatigues of empire by being old, and of a tender conſtitution: and that he came to the throne at a time when even the virtues of TITUS, and the abilities of AUGUSTUS, could ſcarce have reſtored the commonwealth to any great degree of glory. Under all theſe difficulties he muſt be allowed to have had his merits. He laid thoſe outworks of liberty, which were afterwards fortified and compleated by TRAJAN; but he by no means appears ſo eminently perfect, as PLINY endeavours to repreſent him [d]. TACITUS is equally profuſe in his praiſes: but TACITUS and PLINY both wrote in the reign of his adopted ſon. The immediate ſucceſſion to DOMITIAN was an advantageous circumſtance to NERVA, who had attained a moſt excellent reputation; ſo that

NERVA ſucceeds.

[a] On the 18th of *September*, A. U. C. 848. In the conſulſhip of C. FLAVIUS VALENS, and C. ANTISTIUS VETUS.

[b] Lib. 7. Ep. 27.

[c] See the reply of MAURICUS to NERVA's queſtion concerning CATULLUS MESSALINUS. Book 4. Ep. 22.

[d] *Vide Plinii panegyricum, paſſim.*

health after a plague, or plenty after a famine, could not have been more acceptable to the Romans.

PLINY accuſes PUB. CERTUS.

On NERVA's acceſſion PLINY again entered upon the ſtage of public buſineſs. He was then at the age of five and thirty. He began by an impeachment in the ſenate of PUBLICIUS CERTUS, who had inſtigated DOMITIAN to put HELVIDIUS PRISCUS to death. The exact account of this accuſation, given by PLINY in the thirteenth epiſtle of the ninth book, need not be anticipated here.

PLINY's firſt wife dies.

About this time PLINY loſt his firſt wife, and by her death was no longer high-prieſt of TITUS [a].

In the eight hundred and forty ninth year of *Rome* M. ULPIUS TRAJANUS CRINITUS was adopted by the emperor. He was honoured with the ſtile of CÆSAR, and the tribunitial power was conferred upon him. The conſuls of the year were IMP. COCCIUS NERVA III. VERGINIUS RUFUS III. During his conſulſhip, VERGINIUS RUFUS died. He is moſt pathetically lamented by PLINY in an epiſtle [b], that may be aſſigned, with great certainty, to this year. CORNELIUS TACITUS, the hiſtorian, was ſubſtituted conſul in the room of VERGINIUS RUFUS, who was buried at the expence of the ſtate. His funeral oration was ſpoken by TACITUS.

ARRIA, FANNIA, MAURICUS, and many others, who had been exiled by DOMITIAN, returned to *Rome*: but the happineſs of PLINY ſeems to have been clouded this year by the voluntary death of CORELLIUS RUFUS, who in the ſixty eighth year of his age put an end to his own life. The reflexions, in one of PLINY's letters, upon this cataſtrophe, are remarkably fine. I cannot forbear inſerting them. *Eſt luctuoſiſſimum genus mortis, quæ non ex natura, nec fatalis videtur. Nam utcunque in illis, qui morbo finiuntur,*

[a] See obſervations on the 13th Epiſtle, Book 2.
[b] Lib. 2. Ep. 1.

magnum

magnum ex ipsâ necessitate solatium est; in iis vero, quos arcessita mors aufert, hic insanabilis dolor est, quod creduntur potuisse diu vivere [a]. Suicide among us is generally called an act of cowardice. In a country, where the practice of it is so frequent, it cannot be too much condemned and vilified. It is certainly the most daring kind of murder; as preferring our own will to the will of God. Among the Romans suicide was no crime: they did not only look upon it as necessary, but honourable. PLINY has not mentioned in what manner CORELLIUS RUFUS killed himself. He attributes the cause of his death to the excessive tortures of the gout. Whenever he mentions CORELLIUS, he speaks of him with the highest veneration, and gives repeated instances of his regard to his memory, by the most generous acts of friendship to his surviving family [b].

On the twenty seventh of *January* NERVA died; after reigning only one year, and some days above four months. Historians are not agreed in his exact age. DION CASSIUS says, he died in his sixty sixth year, but represents him as older in constitution than in years. All authors allow him to have been a good man, of a moderate, and a gentle disposition, and entirely free from vice. By birth he could not be called a Roman, being born in *Narnia*, in *Umbria*. His father, his grandfather, and his great grandfather, were all of consular dignity. He was twice consul; first with VESPASIAN, in the year eight hundred and twenty three; then again with DOMITIAN, in the year eight hundred and forty two. The family were originally of *Crete*.

NERVA dies.

TRAJAN, the first foreigner, was the fourteenth emperor of *Rome*; Ἦν ὁ Τραϊανὸς, καὶ οὐκ Ἰταλὸς, ἀλλ' Ἰταλιώτης ἦν. "TRAJAN, says DION, was neither a

TRAJAN, the adopted son of NERVA, succeeds.

[a] Book 1. Ep. 12.
[b] See Book 3. Ep. 3. Book 4. Ep. 17. Book 7. Ep. 11.

"Roman, nor an Italian, he was a Spaniard." When NERVA died, TRAJAN, who had been elected conſul[a] with the late emperor, was in *Germany*. He remained there ſome time. But you will find ſo many particulars of him in the tenth book of the epiſtles, that I need not expatiate upon the ſeveral actions of his reign, or mention more circumſtances than are neceſſary to continue the annals of PLINY's life.

PLINY's honours and marriage in the firſt year of TRAJAN

In the firſt year of TRAJAN PLINY was conſtituted *præfectus ærarii Saturni*. In the ſame year, he married CALPURNIA, and obtained that great privilege among the Romans, the *jus trium liberorum*.

In the year eight hundred and fifty one, the conſulſhip was refuſed by TRAJAN on account of his abſence from *Rome*. SOSSIUS SENECIO and A. CORNELIUS PALMA were appointed conſuls. This year was particularly remarkable for the general perſecution of the Chriſtian Church. PLINY continued in his office as *præfectus ærarii Saturni*. Towards the latter end of the year, TRAJAN, and his wife POMPEIA PLOTINA, made their entry into *Rome*, with no other perſonal pomp, than the voluntary attendance of the people.

The third general perſecution of the Chriſtian Church.

The conſuls for the year eight hundred and fifty two were IMP. NERVA TRAJANUS III. and M. CORNELIUS FRONTO III. In the month of *January* the complaint of the Africans againſt MARIUS PRISCUS, their late proconſul, was heard in the ſenate. PLINY, in deſcribing the ſolemnity of the debate, tells us, *Princeps præſidebat; erat enim conſul*[b]. Few of his deſcriptions relating to the civil government are more curious, than the account, that he gives of this cauſe, in which he appeared as an advocate for the Africans.

The cauſe of the Africans againſt MARIUS PRISCUS.

The epiſtles of PLINY written in the year 852.

Within this year may be dated ſeveral of PLINY's letters; particularly the eleventh and twelfth epiſtles

[a] A. U. C. 850. [b] Lib. 2. Ep. 11.

of

of the ſecond book, both treating of MARIUS PRISCUS; the fourth and ninth epiſtles of the third book, containing the accuſation againſt CÆCILIUS CLASSICUS; the firſt and ſixth epiſtles of the fourth book; the ſixth and eighteenth epiſtles of the fifth book; the fifteenth, thirty ſixth, and fortieth epiſtles of the ninth book, all treating of his journey into *Tuſcany*, and his reſidence there. From an expreſſion in one of his letters, we may aſcertain theſe dates. *Cum publicum opus meâ pecuniâ inchoaturus in Thuſcos excurriſſem, accepto, ut præfectus ærarii, commeatu; legati provinciæ Bæticæ queſturi de proconſulatu* CÆCILII CLASSICI *advocatum me a ſenatu petierunt* [a].

PLINY and TERTULLUS appointed conſuls.

On the calends of *September* C. PLINIUS SECUNDUS and SP. CORNUTUS TERTULLUS, before they had compleated their ſecond year as prefects of the treaſury, were appointed conſuls [b]. Upon this occaſion, PLINY ſpoke his panegyric in the ſenate, as the uſual ſpeech of thanks to the emperor for the honour of the conſulſhip. He was three days in ſpeaking it, *Nempe quam in ſenatu quoque, ubi perpeti neceſſe erat, gravari tamen vel puncto temporis ſolebamus, eamdem nunc, et qui recitare, et qui audire triduo velint, inveniuntur* [c].

Two poets of conſiderable reputation died this year, SILIUS ITALICUS, and MARTIAL. The former died rich, at one of his country ſeats near *Naples* [d]. The latter ended his life at *Bilbilis* in *Spain*.

The year concluded with the conſulſhip of JULIUS FEROX, and ACUTIUS NERVA, who where choſen on the calends of *November*.

TRAJAN, in the year of *Rome* eight hundred and fifty three, began the Dacian war: he commanded

a Lib. 3. Ep. 4.

b *Nondum biennium compleramus in officio laborioſiſſimo et maximo, quum tu nobis, optime principum, fortiſſime imperatorum, conſulatum obtuliſti, ut ad ſummum honorem gloria celeritatis accederet.* And again, *Illud verò quàm inſigne, quòd nobis præfectis ærario conſulatum antè quàm ſucceſſorem dediſti?*

c Lib. 3. Ep. 18.

d *Plures iiſdem in locis villas poſſidebat.* Lib. 3 Ep. 7.

his army in perſon, having been bred up, even from his infancy, to arms [a].

PLINY goes to *Comum*, and to *Tifernum Tiberinum*. The epiſtles written in the year 853.

While the emperor was in *Dacia*, PLINY viſited *Comum*, and gave a large contribution towards erecting a public ſchool there. He went afterwards into *Tuſcany*, and was preſent at the dedication of a temple, which he had begun the preceding year at *Tifernum Tiberinum*. Both theſe particulars may be deduced from the thirteenth epiſtle of the fourth book: to this year the date of that letter may be aſcertained.

The laſt epiſtle of the fourth book may be alſo affixed to this year, as it deſcribes to LICINIUS SURA an account of a ſpring near *Comum*, that ebbs and flows regularly three times in a day.

At PLINY's return to *Rome* he was one of the advocates for JULIUS BASSUS, who was accuſed of evil adminiſtration during his proconſulſhip in *Bithynia* [b]; ſo that in this year we may date the ninth epiſtle of the fourth book, which gives a very particular account of that cauſe.

In the following year [c] PLINY was an advocate for RUFUS VARENUS, who had ſucceeded BASSUS in the conſulſhip of *Bithynia*. The cauſe was reſpited till the emperor's return from *Dacia* [d].

epiſtles tten in year 854.

In this year may be dated the twentieth epiſtle of the fifth book, the fifth epiſtle of the ſixth book, and the ſixth epiſtle of the ſeventh book.

In the year eight hundred and fifty five TRAJAN entered into his fifth conſulſhip. L. APPIUS MAXIMUS was his collegue. MAXIMUS had particularly ſignalized himſelf in the Dacian war. On

[a] Vide panegyric. cap. 13 and 14.
[b] A. U. C. 851. [c] A. U. C. 854.
[d] The emperor returned in the year fifty five: and upon account of his ſucceſſes over the Pannonians and the Dacians, a triumph was decreed to him. At the ſame time he was ſurnamed DACICUS.

the

the emperor's return from *Dacia*, PLINY met him at *Centumcellæ*, where TRAJAN had begun a moſt magnificent harbour. PLINY at *Centumcellæ*.

Soon afterwards PLINY was deputed with conſular power, as lieutenant and proprætor of the provinces of *Bithynia* and *Pontus*, and the republic of the Byzantines. He is ſent to *Bithynia*.

The letters of this year, which are not ſpecified in the tenth book, are epiſtle the eighth of the fourth book, and epiſtle the thirty firſt of the ſixth book: the former of which is a letter of thanks to ARRIANUS for his congratulation on PLINY's promotion to the augurſhip: which office was become vacant by the death of SEXTUS JULIUS FRONTINUS, the particular friend of PLINY, and one of the emperor's chief favourites [a]. The epiſtles written in the year 855.

When you read the tenth book, I hope you will think, that I have omitted no circumſtance relating to PLINY during his reſidence in *Bithynia* [b]. For that particular period, I refer you to the ſeries of letters between him, and his imperial maſter. After his return into *Italy* few anecdotes of him are to be found. He ſeems, my CHARLES, to have paſſed the later ſcenes of his life in the manner I could wiſh to paſs my own: In retirement, amidſt his family and friends; at a diſtance from courts and ſenates; far withdrawn from noiſe and oſtentation; happy amidſt the ſweets of rural eaſe and domeſtic pleaſures: Few anecdotes to be found of him after his return.

"The world forgetting, by the world forgot."

Not above one or two of PLINY's epiſtles are evidential proofs of his return. In the tenth epiſtle of

[a] See his character in the obſervations on the 19th epiſtle of Book 9.

[b] PLINY went into *Bithynia* A. U. C. 855. He returned from thence A. U. C. 857.

the ſixth book he mentions the tomb of VERGINIUS RUFUS, which, he ſays, was unfiniſhed, although RUFUS had been dead ten years [a]. RUFUS died in the year of *Rome* eight hundred and forty nine, which fixes that epiſtle, and proves PLINY to have been alive in the year eight hundred and fifty nine [b].

Perhaps we may date in the ſame year his epiſtle to CANINIUS [c], whom he applauds for his intentions of writing a Greek poem on the Dacian war. TRAJAN's laſt triumph over the Dacians was in the year eight hundred and fifty eight; a year after PLINY's return from *Bithynia:* ſo that we may certainly fix the epitle to that, or the ſubſequent year.

The laſt traces of PLINY.

No other records are to be gathered of him from his own works. CASSIODORUS mentions him in the conſulſhip of LUCIUS PUBLICIUS CELSUS II. and CLODIUS CRISPINUS [d]. His words are, *His conſulibus,* PLINIUS *Secundus Novocomenſis orator et hiſtoricus* [e] *inſignis habetur, cujus ingenii plurima opera extant.* If this authority may be depended upon, PLINY reached the fifty firſt, or fifty ſecond year of his age: but how much longer he lived, or in what manner, or in what part of *Italy* he died, is entirely unknown.

It may not be improper now to ſpeak of this tranſlation, begun long ago, frequently laid aſide, and interrupted. But as PLINY has ever been one of my favourite authors, I conſtantly reſumed my taſk, not only with great pleaſure, but with a particular ſatisfaction, in hopes of giving you, one day

[a] *Subit indignatio cum miſeratione: poſt decimum mortis annum reliquias, negleciumque cinerem ſine titulo, ſine nomine jacere,* &c.

[b] PLINY was then in the forty ſixth, or forty ſeventh year of his age.

[c] Lib. 8. Ep. 4. [d] A. U. C. 864.

[e] In the eighth epiſtle of the fifth book we ſhall find, that CAPITO, and ſeveral other friends of PLINY, had adviſed him to employ his thoughts in writing hiſtory; and, according to CASSIODORUS, he put the advice into execution.

or

or other, this public teſtimony of my affection. That time is come, and if the obſervations, which I have ſubjoined to each epiſtle, may prove to you of any uſe or entertainment, the utmoſt of my ambition is fully anſwered; ſince the work itſelf proceeds from no vain oſtentation of learning, or reſtleſs thirſt of fame. On the contrary, I eſteem it but as a trifle; the amuſement of my leiſure hours; the offspring of winter evenings paſſed in the country; and the effect of that retirement and inactivity, from which I am ſcarce ever drawn, but with the utmoſt reluctance. May you move in a more diſtinguiſhed ſphere! or if you chuſe the *otium*, be it *cum dignitate*; *etiam cum maxima!* ſuperior to the pride of courts, equally ſuperior to affected patriotiſm; not to be dazzled by immediate honours; not to be miſguided by too diſtant proſpects. Riſe, my CHARLES, a right honeſt, preferably to a right honourable man. But private wiſhes, and paternal tenderneſs are growing upon me. Let us quit the theme, and let us return to my tranſlation of PLINY.

Of the order and diſpoſition of PLINY's epiſtles.

You will find me often, perhaps too often, complaining of the order and diſpoſition, in which PLINY's letters are placed. The connexions between the epiſtles on the ſame ſubject are ſo entirely broken, that the beauty and inſtruction of the narrative are utterly deſtroyed. It is probable, that the whole collection is not come down to us: and we have great reaſon to regret, that not one epiſtle of any of his correſpondents, TRAJAN excepted, has reached our times. Under theſe, and other diſadvantages, the works of the younger PLINY have appeared. He is in a manner eclipſed by the greater name of CICERO; and the character of his uncle, the elder PLINY, by being more known, and more celebrated, has been of diſadvantageous conſequence to the nephew. Doctor MIDDLETON, in his life of TULLY, exerts himſelf with ſeverity againſt the ſtyle, and writings

writings of our author. A blow from ſuch a hand is of fatal conſequence. HOMER tells us, that when NEPTUNE exerted his celeſtial power, when a deity interpoſed, even HECTOR was knocked down. We may ſuppoſe, that theſe heathen deities, like mortal men, were partial. They had their favourites, and, at any rate, thoſe favourites were to be ſupported, ſo as to appear invulnerable, and almoſt immortal. But PLINY muſt not die, becauſe CICERO muſt live. *Vivat uterque.* They were two illuſtrious Romans, each differently great.

If any future editor were to range PLINY's epiſtles in another diſpoſition from that, in which they have hitherto been compiled, he might divide the nine firſt books into four claſſes: one of which might contain all the letters relating to the Roman ſenate, and the ſeveral laws and privileges at *Rome*, either hinted at, or more fully expatiated on in the epiſtles. A ſecond claſs might comprehend all ſuch letters, as treat upon oratory, ſtyle, tranſlation, and the different manner of writing. The third might include the characters of particular perſons, and the deſcription of particular places. The fourth might be aſſigned not only to his letters of politeneſs, his family epiſtles, and the anecdotes of himſelf, but to the more trifling ſubjects, that have engaged his leiſure hours. Among thoſe ought to be inſerted his poetical pieces, which are rather a blemiſh, than an honour to his character. This fourth diviſion might poſſibly be the largeſt: but in it would appear ſuch a fund of nobleneſs and generoſity, as might well compenſate the diſappointment in ſometimes finding him ſo far led aſtray from his dignity and ſerious manner of writing, that a poet would probably compare him to a ſilk worm, which, after having done an admirable and uſeful work, turns herſelf into a butterfly. But amidſt all his trifles, he ſtill maintains elegance and politeneſs; and amidſt all his vanity, he never fails to illuſtrate, nay

nay even to magnify the accompliſhments of his friends. Such a diſpoſition, *nugis et vanitate non obſtantibus*, is a ſtrong inſtance of a moſt excellent heart.

I ſhall detain you no longer from the epiſtles themſelves, than to aſſure you, that, whatever difficulty I have experienced in wording the tranſlation, it is much more difficult to find expreſſions adequate to the paternal tenderneſs, with which I am, my dear CHARLES,

Your affectionate FATHER,

Leiceſter Fields,
Jan. 27, 1750-1.

and your firſt, and in truth

your faithfulleſt Friend

ORRERY.



Hayman in.t Bonneau Sc.

PLINY's EPISTLES.

BOOK I.

EPISTLE I.

PLINY *to* SEPTITIUS CLARUS.

YOU have often entreated me, to gather up thoſe letters, which I have written with any degree of accuracy, and to give them to the public. I have obeyed your commands, without paying the leaſt regard to the order of time, they not being deſigned as a hiſtory. I have placed them together, as they happened to come to my hands. I hope neither you will repent of your advice, nor I of my compliance; the conſequence of which will be, that I muſt enquire for ſuch of my letters, as are ſcattered abroad; and if I write any more hereafter, they ſhall certainly be publiſhed. Farewell.

OBSER-

OBSERVATIONS.

The firſt epiſtle, the introductory preface to all the reſt, is a demonſtration, that PLINY publiſhed his letters, not from any vain motion of his own heart, but at the repeated ſolicitation of SEPTITIUS. *Frequenter hortatus es:* "you "have perpetually been preſſing me." Certainly the reſt of PLINY's friends joined in the ſame requeſt, not ſo much perhaps with a view to the honour of the perſon, who wrote the letters, as to the honour of the perſons, to whom they were written. There is an irreſiſtible pride in being the favourite of a great and an eminent man. His ſmiles, like the beams of the ſun, ripen and bring forward all, upon whom they ſhine: like the ſun too, they often ſhine upon the good and bad without diſtinction; for it ſometimes happens, that fancy, whim, indolence, or ſome worſe cauſe, have ſo great a ſhare, and are ſo unaccountably prevalent in the choice of friends and companions, that we ſee brave men inſulted by cowards, wiſe men directed by fools, and honeſt men guided by knaves. But PLINY was governed neither by paſſion nor prejudice in the choice of his favourites. He judged with coolneſs and deliberation. He had obtained a thorough knowledge of the world. He was not only learned in books, but in men; a kind of learning more difficult and more uſeful even than philoſophy.

Quæ adhuc neglectæ jacent requiram: "I muſt look after "ſuch letters, as have hitherto been neglected." This more literal conſtruction may poſſibly convey the exacter meaning of our author. He alludes perhaps to letters, which he had long ſince thrown aſide and neglected, but of which he had retained copies.

EPISTLE II.

PLINY *to* ARRIANUS.

SINCE I foreſee your return will not be ſo ſoon as you propoſed, I now ſend the book, which I promiſed you in ſome of my former letters. Uſe me as you have hitherto done; not only read my work, but correct it. I am more earneſt in this requeſt, becauſe,

cauſe, none of my works appear to me to have been written throughout, in the ſame ſtyle and manner: for I have endeavoured to imitate DEMOSTHENES, who was always your favourite, and CALVUS, who is lately become mine. However, my imitations are confined merely to the oratorical figures of their ſtyle; for the ſpirit of ſuch men can be equalled only by thoſe to whom the Gods have given an equal genius. The ſubject itſelf (excuſe the arrogance of the expreſſion) favoured ſuch a kind of emulation. The whole difficulty lay in a certain vehemence of ſpeech, which was very neceſſary to rouze a man, if I am to be rouzed, ſunk by long diſuſe into lethargic indolence. However I did not avoid thoſe gentler flowers of rhetoric, which our countryman TULLY ſo often makes uſe of, whenever ſuch ornaments were ſeaſonable, and did not carry me too much out of my way. My aim was to be ſharp, not ill-natured.

Imagine not from hence, that I am beſpeaking your favour. But, thus far I will confeſs, in hopes to provoke your criticiſms, that my friends and I, if your approbation attends our partiality, ſhall make no difficulty to ſubmit this piece to the world: for certainly ſomething muſt be publiſhed, and I could wiſh it were this work, (you hear the wiſh of lazineſs) becauſe it is ready: there are ſeveral reaſons for publiſhing ſomething; chiefly, as there is a great demand made for my writings, (although they have already loſt the charm of novelty,) unleſs the bookſellers ſay ſo to flatter me. But if their flattery incites me to a cloſer purſuit of my ſtudies, let them flatter on. Adieu.

OBSERVATIONS.

Works intended for the public ſhould, like gold, be tried in the fire: if the metal is pure, it will come out ſhining and unhurt; if baſe, let it periſh in the flames. But pride has ſo univerſal an aſcendant over the minds of moſt men, and of authors in particular, that they chuſe rather to fall

fall a ſacrifice to public cenſure, than to enjoy the advantages of private advice. In converſation a man will expoſe his thoughts freely to his friends, and cautiouſly to his foes; but when he commits thoſe faults to writing, and from thence to the preſs, he generally puts friends and enemies upon the ſame footing, conſults neither the one nor the other, but appears at once to them both *with all his imperfections on his head.* This falſe conduct can ariſe only from vanity and ſelf-conceit. In converſation a coxcomb may meet with adverſaries ready and able to conteſt with him, but in writing he has the field to himſelf; no body can enter his cloſet, no body can ſtop his pen; he goes on in triumph, and he takes his rank accordingly in the temple of FAME. But the mind of PLINY is clear from theſe errors of preſumption; he is devoid of pride and ſtiff opinion; he is deſirous of inſtruction and advice, and is willing to receive all the aſſiſtance of his friends, eſpecially of ARRIANUS, whoſe criticiſms had probably been of benefit to him before. *Hunc rogo ex conſuetudine tuâ, et legas et emendes:* "treat me with your uſual "friendſhip, read my work, and correct it."

The work, that PLINY hints at here, was an oration, which he was preſſed to publiſh, in defence of ACCIA VARIOLA, a lady of great quality, of whom he ſpeaks in the thirty third epiſtle of the ſixth book. But he was diffident of this particular performance, becauſe it was a new attempt. It was written in imitation of DEMOSTHENES, whoſe ſtyle and manner was full of fire and force. QUINTILIAN calls that celebrated Grecian, *longè princeps oratorum:* "the ſhining prince of orators," and he bears that character to this day.

SIDONIUS APOLLINARIS points out very juſtly the different characters of CICERO and DEMOSTHENES, where he ſays *iraſcitur ut* DEMOSTHENES, *perſuadet ut* TULLIUS: "in his anger he is DEMOSTHENES, in his eloquence "he is TULLY." The one drives rapidly, the other leads gently. The one burſts out like a torrent, in ſound and vehemence; the other glides ſwiftly along like a beautiful ſtream, always clear and full, always ſtrong and gentle. PLINY therefore ſhews a remarkable niceneſs of judgement, to mix the poliſhed dialect of CICERO with the rougher energy of DEMOSTHENES, and like a ſkilful architect makes his building at once both of ornament and uſe.

CAL-

CALVUS was an orator of the ſame turn and diſpoſition with DEMOSTHENES; but TULLY is of opinion, that he wanted force; for ſpeaking of him in a letter to TREBONIUS, he ſays, *multæ erant ei et reconditæ literæ, vis non erat:* "he had much and deep learning, but wanted energy:" but adds immediately after, *de judicio ejus valde exiſtimavi benè:* "I had the higheſt opinion of his judgment." It is impoſſible not to be curious after any man, whom PLINY honoured with his imitation; but time has cruelly ſwallowed up the orations of PLINY himſelf, the panegyric on TRAJAN excepted, and has devoured thoſe of CALVUS likewiſe. All we can know of him is from thoſe places, where he is now and then mentioned by different authors. AULUS GELLIUS, OVID, PROPERTIUS, and HORACE ſpeak of him as a poet; but we muſt here view him in the light of an orator; and we ſhall find him often mentioned as ſuch by TULLY, SENECA, and QUINTILIAN: the latter of whom ſpeaks of his eloquence thus, *Eſt ei et ſancta et gravis oratio, et caſtigata, et frequenter vehemens quoque. Imitator eſt autem Atticorum, fecitque illi properata mors injuriam, ſi quid adjecturus, non ſi quid detracturus fuit:* "His language is "ſolemn, and weighty, chaſte, and ſometimes vehement. "He imitated the Attic manner; and death could only "do him an injury, if he deſigned to make additions, "not if he intended to expunge any part of his works." In the *dialogus de oratoribus* vulgarly attributed to TACITUS, but generally thought to be QUINTILIAN'S, he is likewiſe ſpoken of, but not with ſo high a degree of reputation. Upon the whole CALVUS ſcarce appears in the firſt claſs of orators, but may rather be compared, as LONGINUS ſays of HYPERIDES, to a champion, who, though not chief in each of the five ſorts of exerciſes ſingly, yet exceeded the common rate of wreſtlers in them all together.

Acres enim eſſe, non triſtes volebamus: "I would be ſharp, "not ill-natured:" or in the words of HAMLET, "let me "ſpeak daggers, but uſe none." Good nature, the characteriſtic of PLINY, may be ſeen in this ſentence much to his honour. He was engaged in a cauſe, where the ſtrongeſt invectives might not only have been juſtified, but were almoſt neceſſary. A lady of high rank, both by birth and marriage, had been cheated of her fortune by an old doating father, who at fourſcore tottered into the bands of matrimony, to the damage and diſ-inheritance of his only child.

PLINY undertook her cauſe: it was heard in the courts of the *centumviri*, where he conquered in the moſt triumphant manner; but in his conqueſt ſhewed mercy, and in his triumph avoided cruelty. He was *acer*, but not *triſtis*, and ſcorned to buy the greateſt applauſe, by the leaſt malevolence: he laſhed the youthful inamorato, but ſpared the grey-headed father; remembring, that he was advocate for a daughter, whoſe filial piety, at the ſame time that it hindered her not from juſtice, debarred her from revenge.

Whatever elſe might be ſaid on this occaſion will come more proper under the thirty third epiſtle of the ſixth book.

EPISTLE III.

PLINY *to* CANINIUS RUFUS.

TELL me what are you doing at Comum; Comum equally the object of our delight! Tell me ſome news of that enchanting villa; of the gallery, where it is always ſpring; of the plane trees, which ſpread themſelves moſt diffuſively; of the green enamelled banks of your canal; of your lake ſituated for pleaſure and for uſe; of your place for exerciſe, the ground of which is ſoft, and yet ſolid; of your bath open to the ſun on every ſide; of your various dining rooms, ſuited to a larger or leſſer company; of your bed-chambers made for repoſe both by day and night. Say, are you wholly engaged by theſe beauties, and do they ſhare you by turns? or are you called from them, as uſual, by frequent excurſions to your family affairs? If theſe beauties entirely poſſeſs you, then is your happineſs complete: but if not, then are you one of many in the ſame miſerable ſituation. Come, my friend, it is high time, leave low and ſordid cares to others: and apply your mind entirely to your ſtudies in the deep receſs of ſuch an undiſturbed retreat: let this be your buſineſs and your recreation; your labour and your reſt; the object of your waking thoughts and

of

of your dreams. Plan out and compoſe ſome work, that may ever belong to you: for your other poſſeſſions will frequently change maſters, but this will be always your own. I know the ſoul I exhort, I know the genius I ſpeak to. Let me ſee you endeavour to appear as great in your own eye, as you certainly will in the eye of others, when once you become conſcious of your own abilities. Farewell.

OBSERVATIONS.

Whoever has a deſire to learn the art of praiſing without inſincerity, of obliging without meanneſs, and of delighting the paſſions, without flattering the vices, will find that art in this letter. Our author inſinuates himſelf into his friend, by touching elegantly upon every particular beauty belonging to the country ſeat of RUFUS. He begins his letter with a ſet of queſtions, that are ſo many pictures of the place. They are drawn in miniature, and ſhew exquiſite ſkill in the painter: the invention is nice, the expreſſion delicate, and the colouring agreeable to the whole. The obſervations, that are made in conſequence of ſuch originals, may be looked upon as frames, which are intended as ornamental additions to pieces of infinite more value than the frames themſelves.

In the territories of Comum lived CANINIUS, and in the city of Comum PLINY was born; and though it is ſcarce poſſible not to have a partiality for our birth place, be it where it will, yet PLINY ſhews his paſſion for Comum to ariſe only for the beauty of the ſituation, the temperature of the air, and the various and elegant improvements made there by CANINIUS. He calls it *ſuburbanum amœniſſimum:* "a villa filled with charms:" nor can imagination form a more delighful place, than the open gallery, which he ſpeaks of, *verna ſemper:* "where it was perpetual ſpring."

The next enquiry he makes is after a ſhady grove of plane trees: *Quid* Πλατανὼν *opaciſſimus?* The plane tree was in high eſteem amongſt the antients, as we may learn from Mr. EVELYN, whoſe ſtile is particular, but whoſe account is curious.

"Platanus (ſays he) that ſo beautiful and precious tree, ſo "doated on by XERXES, that ÆLIAN and other authors

" tell us, *he made halt*, and ſtopt his prodigious army of " ſeventeen hundred thouſand ſoldiers, which even covered " the ſea, exhauſted rivers, and thruſt mount Athos from " the continent, to admire the *pulchritude* and *procerity* of " one of theſe goodly trees, and became ſo fond of it, that " *ſpoiling both himſelf, his concubines, and great perſons*, of " all their jewels, he covered it with gold, gems, neck- " laces, ſcarfs, and bracelets, and infinite riches: *in ſum* " was ſo enamoured of it, that for ſome days, neither the " concernment of his grand expedition, nor intereſt of ho- " nour, nor the neceſſary motion of his portentous army " could perſuade him from it. He ſtyled it his minion, his " miſtreſs, his goddeſs: and when he was forced to part " from it, he cauſed the figure of it to be ſtamped in a " medal of gold, which he continually wore about him. " Wherever *they* built their ſumptuous and magnificent " colleges for the exerciſe of youth in *gymnaſtics*, as riding, " ſhooting, wreſtling, running, &c. (*like our French academies*) " and where the graver philoſophers alſo met to converſe " together and improve their ſtudies, betwixt the *xyſta* and " *ſubdiales ambulationes*, (which were porticos open to the " air,) they planted groves and walks of platans to refreſh " and ſhade the *palæſtritæ*, as you have them deſcribed by " VITRUVIUS, lib. 5. cap. 11. and as CLAUDIUS PER- " RAULT has aſſiſted the text with a figure or *ichnographical* " *plot*. Theſe trees the Romans firſt brought out of *the* " *Levant*, and cultivated with ſo much induſtry and coſt, " for their ſtately and proud head only, that great orators " and ſtateſmen, CICERO and HORTENSIUS, would ex- " change now and then a turn at the bar, that they might " have the pleaſure to ſtep to their villas, and refreſh their " *platans*, which they would often *irrigate* with wine, in- " ſtead of water, and ſo prized the very ſhadow of it, that " when afterwards they tranſplanted them to *France*, they " exacted a tribute of any of the natives, who ſhould pre- " ſume but to put his head under it. PLINY tells us, there is " no tree whatſoever, which ſo well defends us from the " heat of ſummer, nor that admits it more kindly in winter; " and for our encouragement, I do upon experience aſſure " you, that they will flouriſh and abide, without any more " trouble, than frequent and plentiful watering, which from " their youth they exceſſively delight in, and gratefully " acknowledge by their growth accordingly."

Quid

Quid Euripus viridis et gemmeus? "The green enamelled "banks of your canal." The *Euripi* were open aqueducts, which could be filled or emptied at pleaſure. They derived their name from a narrow ſea between *Eubœa* and *Bœotia*, that ebbs and flows ſeven times in four and twenty hours. They were made with great art, and when they were not filled with water, the bottom appeared green, and the banks adorned with flowers. The *Circus* at *Rome*, where the ſea-fights were repreſented, was ſupplied in the ſame manner by canals called *Euripi*. When the *Naumachiæ* were exhibited, the *Circus* was filled with water from the *Euripi*, which latter then remained dry; but when the naval ſports were ended, the water was turned back again into the *Euripi*, and the bottom of the *Circus* remained dry. But the expreſſion *viridis et gemmeus* may poſſibly bear another ſignification. The *gemmeus* might be owing to the refraction of the rays of light through the tranſparent ſtream, which made it appear like a diamond with a clear water; and the bottom of it was the foil: if ſo, this could happen only when it was full, and in a proper motion, which diverſified and ſcattered the rays more.

The philoſophy of it ſtands thus. The rays of light, paſſing through any medium, are refracted according to the denſity and tranſparency of it; on which account all pellucid gems have a luſtre in proportion to their denſity. For this reaſon, the rays of light reflected from a ſolid ſurface, and refracted through the water, will give a luſtre like a gem, and are collected, when the baſon is full, into a brighter focus, than they can be from reflexion only, when the baſon is empty, in the different proportion, which water bears to air, which is as eight hundred and fifty to one.

Quid ſubjectus et ſerviens lacus? "Your lake ſituated for "pleaſure and for uſe." We may judge from this queſtion, that the lake was at ſome diſtance from the houſe, far enough to afford an agreeable proſpect, and near enough to ſerve all the uſes of the family. The *Euripus* probably fell into it, and the grove of *Platans* ſurrounded the borders: ſo that if we take the whole together, it ſeems to anſwer the place, to which Mr. DRYDEN conducts his fool of nature.

Where in a plain defended by a wood
Crept through the matted graſs a cryſtal flood,
By which an alabaſter fountain ſtood.

Quid illa mollis et tamen ſolida geſtatio? "Your riding "place, the ground of which is ſo ſoft, and yet ſo firm." The Romans were fond of exerciſe, and were ſenſible, how conducive it was to health: they took care to have at their country ſeats a covered place, or houſe, in which they could either ride on horſeback, or be carried in a chariot, whenever the extremity of weather put a ſtop to all exerciſe abroad. This was called *geſtatio*, and had ſo far a reſemblance to the riding houſes of theſe days, that it was built up, and cloſed on both ſides, to keep out the ſun in ſummer, and the rain in winter.

An, ut ſolebas, intentione rei familiaris obeundæ, crebris excurſionibus avocaris? "Are you, as uſual, perpetually inter-"rupted by the avocation of family employments?" PLINY is very apprehenſive, that the private affairs of CANINIUS, of whoſe genius and capacity he has the higheſt opinion, may divert him from the enjoyment of his ſtudies: he therefore adviſes his friend to quit all buſineſs; and to ſet about ſome work of immortality. Which reminds us of what HORACE ſays upon this head to JULIUS FLORUS:

Non tibi parvum
Ingenium, non incultum eſt, nec turpiter hirtum,
Seu linguam cauſis acuis, ſeu civica jura
Reſpondere paras, ſeu condis amabile carmen,
Prima feres ederæ victricis præmia. Quod ſi
Frigida curarum fomenta relinquere poſſes;
Quo te cœleſtis ſapientia duceret, ires.
Hoc opus, hoc ſtudium parvi properemus et ampli,
Si patriæ volumus, ſi nobis vivere cari.

Not ſmall, nor rude, the genius you may boaſt,
Nor is it, like the roſe, 'midſt brambles loſt.
If thy keen tongue defends our country's rights,
Or gentler verſe thy vacant muſe indites,
Whate'er thy eloquence, whate'er thy ſong,
To thee the triumphs and the wreaths belong:

But

But could the ſeeds of dull and fruitleſs care
Deſert thy breaſt, nor trifles enter there,
Wiſdom would point to happineſs the road,
Nor couldſt thou fail to follow where ſhe trod.
By arts like theſe, his actions ſtill muſt move,
Who ſeeks his own content, or country's love.

PLINY had certainly his eye to this paſſage in *Horace*, when he writ to CANINIUS; or at leaſt we may aſſure ourſelves, that where theſe two authors agree in one and the ſame thought, it muſt be excellent, and like true gold, perfectly ſterling, whatever image be ſtamped upon it.

EPISTLE IV.

PLINY *to* POMPEIA CELERINA, *his mother in law.*

FROM among all my letters, (for I need not now refer to any of yours) I fix upon my laſt, though it is ſhort and of an old date, to convince you, how much I am captivated with the vaſt affluence of beauties in your ſeveral country houſes at *Ocriculum*, *Narnium*, *Carſulanum*, and at your favourite *Peruſinum*; but particularly at *Narnium*, where you have a bath.

I have the happineſs to find, that what I look upon as my own, is not ſo much mine, as what is really yours. The only difference is, that your ſervants are more careful of me, and are more buſy about me, than my own. The ſame thing may happen to you, if you will come ſo far out of your road, as to honour us with a viſit. It is a journey I wiſh I could induce you to; firſt, that you may enjoy what is ours, as fully as we have enjoyed what is yours; and next, that my ſervants, who wait upon me with an indolence, that almoſt amounts to neglect, may upon your arrival exert themſelves as they ought. Believe me, indulgence to domeſtics gives them a habit of laying

aſide all reſpect towards their maſters. New objects invite them to their duty, and they chuſe to recommend themſelves rather by their diligence to others, than their attendance upon us. Adieu.

OBSERVATIONS.

No picture can give greater delight to the mind, than one, where domeſtic happineſs is drawn in full beauty; where friendſhip, chearfulneſs, and all the ſocial virtues appear in their juſt attitude; where plenty and œconomy are joined hand in hand; and where generoſity ſits ſmiling at her own gifts. Such a picture is this epiſtle; it is written to POMPEIA CELERINA, the mother of PLINY's firſt wife. CELERINA had carried him to her ſeveral country houſes, where ſhe had entertained him in the moſt polite manner; in a manner ſuitable to his own taſte and diſpoſition. He found himſelf more at eaſe with her than at his own houſe: her ſervants attended him, her baths refreſhed him, her daughter was the object of his love; and to form a juſt idea of CELERINA herſelf, we need only remember, that ſhe had choſen PLINY for her ſon in law, and when he was ſo, knew how to entertain him. Let us now take a view of her different country houſes.

Ocriculum was a town in the *Apennine* lying upon the *Flaminian* way, juſt below the place, where the *Nar* falls into the *Tiber*. The territory about it was called *Ocriculanum*, in the ſame manner, as our ſhires take their names generally from the chief city in the county; and the inhabitans at this day are called *Otricoli*. Mr. ADDISON in his travels ſpeaks of a ruined caſtle in this place, which might poſſibly have been the country ſeat of CELERINA.

In that neighbourhood, at about twelve miles diſtance, ſtood *Narnium*, the original name of which was *Nequinum*. It was beſieged by the Romans under the conſulſhip of APULEIUS; and [a] LIVY ſays, it was ſo ſituated amidſt rocks and inacceſſible mountains, that had not the city been betrayed by two of her own citizens, neither force nor ſtratagem could have taken it. The Romans gave it the name of *Narnium* from the river *Narnia* (now called *le Negra*, or the *Nar*) which runs at the foot of theſe mountains. This

[a] Liv. Lib. x. cap. ix. & x.

muſt

muſt have been a very fine ſituation, and perhaps not unlike that of *Windſor-Caſtle*, where from a great height we command a moſt extenſive view, and at the bottom flows one of the fineſt rivers in the world.

Carſulanum lies in the direct road from *Narnium* to *Peruſinum*. The town itſelf is now quite deſtroyed, and only a ſmall inn remains upon the ſpot, which in remembrance of the city is called *Carſula*.

The modern Italian name of *Peruſinum* is *Perugia*: at this place LUCIUS, the brother of MARK ANTONY, was reduced to great extremity, when he fled from OCTAVIUS CÆSAR, as we learn from FLORUS: [a] *Hunc vero* [ANTONII *fratrem*] *jam non privatis, ſed totis ſenatus ſuffragiis judicatum hoſtem* CÆSAR *aggreſſus, intra* Peruſiæ *muros redegit, compulitque ad extrema deditionis, turpi et nihil non expertâ fame*: "But CÆSAR having attacked him (the brother of "ANTONY) who not only by private ſuffrages, but by the "votes of the whole ſenate, was an adjudged enemy, drove "him within the walls of *Peruſia*, and reduced him to all "the extremities of a ſurrender by a famine, that made "him feel every baſe and ſad variety of wretchedneſs."

Our author diſcovers throughout this epiſtle that ſweetneſs of nature, which rendered him ſo amiable to the age he lived in, and made his character ſo ſhining to ſucceeding times. It is very certain, the good-natured maſter is often leſs carefully attended, although much better beloved, than the ill-natured tyrant; mildneſs and indulgence to ſervants ſeldom meeting with thoſe returns of duty and gratitude, which might be expected. But PLINY could generouſly lay aſide the expectation of receiving any acknowledgment, for the inward ſatisfaction of having deſerved it.

a L. Flori. Lib. iv. cap. v.

EPISTLE V.

PLINY *to* VOCONIUS ROMANUS.

DID you ever ſee a more daſtardly or mean ſpirited wretch than MARCUS REGULUS, ſince the death of DOMITIAN? during whoſe reign his enormities were not leſs than under NERO's, but they were

were acted more covertly. He began to be afraid, that I was angry with him; nor did he judge wrong, for I really was angry. He was not only principally concerned in the deſtruction of RUSTICUS ARULENUS, but he had inſulted him after death, by repeating and publiſhing a certain book, in which he railed againſt RUSTICUS, and called him the *ape of the Stoics:* and further added, that he was branded with the *Vitellian ſcar.* You are well acquainted with the eloquence of REGULUS. He was one day roaring ſo intemperately againſt HERENNIUS SENECIO, that even METIUS CARUS ſaid to him, *Pray what have you to do with my dead men? Do I meddle with* CRASSUS *or* CAMERINUS? both whom REGULUS had accuſed in NERO's reign. REGULUS imagined, that I took theſe things ill; and therefore when he rehearſed his book, I was not invited. Beſides, he remembred what a thruſt he aimed at me before the *centumviri.* At the requeſt of ARULENUS RUSTICUS, I was engaged there in the cauſe of TIMON's wife ARIONILLA. REGULUS was on the other ſide. In one part of the cauſe we, on our ſide, relied upon a particular judgement given by METIUS MODESTUS, a man of infinite worth, but who at that time was ſent into exile by DOMITIAN. Here you will ſee REGULUS. PLINY, ſays he, *I deſire to know your real opinion of* MODESTUS? You perceive my danger, if I had anſwered, I thought him innocent; and my ſhame, if I had anſwered otherwiſe. I verily think I may ſay the Gods inſpired me upon the occaſion. I replied, *I will give you my opinion, if his caſe is now to come in judgement before the* centumviri. *Well,* rejoined he, *but pray tell us, what are your real ſentiments of* MODESTUS? *It is uſual,* anſwered I, *to examine witneſſes only againſt the accuſed, and not againſt the condemned.* He then begun a third time, *Come I quit all other queſtions about* MODESTUS; *but tell us your opinion of his loyalty? You aſk me,* ſaid, I, *my opinion; but I cannot think it ſo much*

much as lawful to aſk the queſtion, where the perſon is already condemned. Here he held his peace; and I was praiſed and congratulated for neither hurting my character, by what might have been an advantageous, but an unjuſt anſwer, nor falling into the ſnare of ſo inſidious a queſtion. Struck in his conſcience with his behaviour towards me, he firſt applies himſelf to CÆCILIUS CELER, and afterwards to FABIUS JUSTUS, that they might reconcile me to him. Nor content with that, he comes to SPURINNA; *I beſeech you,* ſays he in the humbleſt manner, (for when he is frightened, he appears the moſt abject creature imaginable) *to go early to* PLINY'*s houſe; but go as early as poſſible, for I am no longer able to bear this uneaſineſs; and by any means contrive, that he be no longer angry with me.* I was early awake: in the morning arrives a meſſenger from SPURINNA, to tell me, SPURINNA was juſt coming to me: *No,* ſays I, *I will wait upon him.* We both met in LIVIA's porch, as we were going to each other. He delivered the meſſage ſent by REGULUS, and added his own entreaties to induce me to forgive him, which was acting a part of the higheſt good-nature to the worſt natured man alive. *You yourſelf ſhall judge,* replied I, *what my preſent ſituation allows me to ſay to* REGULUS: *towards you it is fit I ſhall have no reſerve: but I expect* MAURICUS, (for MAURICUS was not yet returned from baniſhment) *and therefore cannot give a poſitive anſwer, either as to my conſent, or refuſal, being determined to act as he ſhall direct; for in this affair it becomes him to lead the way, and me to accompany him.*

Not many days after, REGULUS met me in the prætor's office, and there, after purſuing me ſome time, he begged one word in private. He began by ſaying, that he was afraid I had retained ſome inward diſguſt towards him, from what he had let drop once in the court of the *centumviri,* when he was engaged in a cauſe againſt SATRIUS RUFUS and me: his words were,

were, "SATRIUS and a certain perſon, who vies "with CICERO, and who ſcorns the eloquence of the "preſent age." I told him, that I now found he had ſaid a thing maliciouſly, according to his own confeſſion, which I might otherwiſe have conſtrued as a compliment; *for*, added I, *it is true, and I own it that I emulate* CICERO; *and it is as true, that I cannot reliſh the eloquence of the preſent age: I hold it the height of folly not to copy after the beſt originals. But ſince you can remember ſo well what paſſed in that cauſe, pray why do you forget another, in which you aſked me, what my opinion was of the loyalty of* MODESTUS? Pale as he is by nature, he now grew ten times paler, and with a faultring voice replied, *The queſtion I aſked, was not aimed at you, but at* MODESTUS. Obſerve the cruel temper of the man, who frankly owned, that he had endeavoured to wound a perſon already in baniſhment. His reaſon for it was extraordinary; he ſaid, that in a letter, which was read to DOMITIAN, MODESTUS had made uſe of this expreſſion; "REGULUS is the greateſt brute, that "walks upon two legs:" it is true MODESTUS had written theſe very words. Here I think our diſcourſe ended; nor indeed had I a mind to continue it any longer, that I might keep myſelf quite free from all engagements, till MAURICUS came from baniſhment.

You muſt not imagine from hence, that I am ignorant, how difficult it is to overturn REGULUS. He is rich and powerful; he is reſpected by many; he is feared by more, and fear is generally ſtronger than love. Nevertheleſs, it is poſſible, that ſuch a ſtrong building may be reduced to the ground. For the kindneſs of bad men is uncertain, like themſelves.

But to repeat what I ſaid before, I ſtay for MAURICUS: He is a man of weight, of prudence, and knowledge of the world; one who, by paſt experience, can meaſure future events: Under his authority, let me do what I will, either in carrying on my reſentment,

ſentment, or burying it in oblivion, I am ſure to have reaſon on my ſide. I have writ theſe things to you, becauſe, from the mutual friendſhip between us, it is proper you ſhould not only know my words and actions, but alſo all my deſigns. Farewell.

OBSERVATIONS.

This epiſtle to VOCONIUS ROMANUS, whoſe character[a] we ſhall ſee fully drawn by PLINY himſelf hereafter, ſeems to have been written at the beginning of TRAJAN's reign; at a time, when PLINY was riſing into favour, and had not yet arrived at the meridian of his power: otherwiſe he could ſcarce have found the leaſt difficulty in overturning REGULUS; although he appears, by this letter, to have been one of the many worthleſs ſons of fortune, who wallow in riches, and abound with the outward appearance of followers and friends. Another reaſon gives room for this conjecture; MAURICUS had been baniſhed by DOMITIAN, and was not yet returned, although recalled by NERVA. MAURICUS was brother to RUSTICUS ARULENUS, who was put to death in the reign of DOMITIAN; and the panegyric, which he had writ in honour and defence of PÆTUS THRASEA was ordered to be burnt. MARCUS REGULUS had an inſuperable averſion to RUSTICUS (that averſion, which villains conſtantly retain againſt honeſt men) and was the ſecret inſtrument of his deſtruction; but having drawn ſo much popular odium upon himſelf in the time of NERO, by his barefaced and cruel proſecution of CRASSUS and ORPHITUS, he was now reſolved to proceed with more caution and hyprocriſy, and, like an experienced ſtateſman, to deal forth his ſlaughter from behind the ſkreen. Sacred CÆSAR therefore was the butcher, and REGULUS only provided a knife for the execution. CÆSAR could do no wrong; therefore REGULUS was ſafe: CÆSAR * * * * but let us haſten to the account, which TACITUS gives of this Arulenian tragedy.

[b] *Legimus cum* ARULENO RUSTICO PÆTUS THRASEA, HERENNIO SENECIONI PRISCUS HELVIDIUS *laudati eſſent*,

[a] Book the ſecond, Epiſtle the thirteenth.
[b] Corn. Tacit. vita Agricolæ.

capitale

capitale fuiſſe: neque in ipſos modo auctores, ſed in libros quoque eorum ſævitum, delegato triumviris miniſterio, ut monumenta clariſſimorum ingeniorum in comitio ac foro urerentur. Scilicet illo igne vocem populi Romani et libertatem ſenatûs, et conſcientiam generis humani aboleri arbitrabantur, expulſis inſuper ſapientiæ profeſſoribus, atque omni bona arte in exſilium acta, ne quid uſquam honeſtum occurreret. Dedimus profectò grande patientiæ documentum; et ſicut vetus ætas vidit, quid ultimum in libertate eſſet, ita nos quid in ſervitute, ademto per inquiſitiones et loquendi audiendique commercio. Memoriam quoque ipſam cum voce perdidiſſemus, ſi tam in noſtrâ poteſtate eſſet oblivi ſci, quam tacere.

"Our hiſtory ſays, that ARULENUS RUSTICUS and HE-
"RENNIUS SENECIO were put to death for celebrating
"the praiſes of PÆTUS THRASEA, and PRISCUS HEL-
"VIDIUS. This cruelty was not only extended againſt
"the authors themſelves, but alſo againſt their writings:
"the execution was to be performed by the triumviri, who
"had orders to burn in the forum, and at the town-hall,
"the works and laſt remains of thoſe great and glori-
"ous men. In this fire they undoubtedly imagined they
"ſhould be able to conſume and aboliſh the voice of the
"Roman people, the liberty of the ſenate, and even every
"idea of human kind. The philoſophers had been expel-
"led the city beforehand; arts and ſciences had been driv-
"en into baniſhment; and this was done, that not the
"leaſt remains of virtue ſhould be met with in any place.
"Here we gave a noble example of our patience, who,
"becauſe our fathers had ſeen the height of liberty, were
"reſolved to try the depth of ſlavery; all communication
"both of ſpeaking and hearing being taken away by the
"inquiſitions of the ſtate: and we ſhould even have loſt
"the memory as well as the voice of complaint, if it had
"been equally in our power to forget as to be ſilent."

What a repreſentation is here of Roman ſervitude! what a ſcene of inhumanity on one hand, and of ſlaviſh infatuation on the other!

The firſt ſtep towards the eſtabliſhment of tyranny is the deſtruction of virtue, knowledge, the ſciences, and the arts. Liberty is a tree, that receives nouriſhment from thoſe roots, and to them therefore the ax muſt firſt be applied; otherwiſe, though the body be cut down, and the ſpreading branches lie rotting on the ground, ſome degree of vegeta-

tion

tion will ſtill remain, and a young plant may ariſe, to ſhade and defend all, who are either able or willing to ſerve their country. Miniſters of arbitrary power act according to this ſyſtem: they begin by burning and ſuppreſſing all kinds of literature in general, but in particular ſuch books and papers, as tend either to explain or eſtabliſh that freedom, to which every man has a right by the law of nature, and which he ought to give up only with his lateſt breath. This is a right indeed, which obſtructs, and breaks in upon the ſyſtems, that are conſtantly purſued by the *Reguli* of the age: for which reaſon they ſpare no endeavours to take it away from mankind, whom they would deprive of all knowledge, and ſenſe of liberty, becauſe the firſt buddings of ſlavery muſt ſprout up amidſt the weeds of ignorance and ſloth. But wiſe men cannot be deceived; they will not be lulled into bondage, or cajoled into chains; they are ever awake for the public good; and the glorious cauſe, in which they are engaged, inſpires them with a firmneſs and intrepidity, unknown to the abettors of tyranny. The characters of HERENNIUS SENECIO and ARULENUS RUSTICUS anſwer the ideas, which we muſt naturally conceive of wiſe and able men. Theſe two Romans, when alive, were dreaded by REGULUS; when dead, were odious to him: his malice reached beyond the grave; he hated virtue even on the other ſide of *Styx*; and was ſo intemperate in his reflexions on SENECIO after his death, that he drew a reprimand upon himſelf from METIUS CARUS, another inſtrument of iniquity, who aſſumed the ſole right of ſlandering all thoſe perſons, whoſe murders he had perpetrated without a copartner.

There is one obſervation, which muſt certainly occur upon the peruſal of this letter: the natural tempers of PLINY and REGULUS appear ſo widely different, that it was impoſſible they ſhould ever agree, or be thoroughly reconciled.

PLINY was a man of the utmoſt ſweetneſs and candour of heart; he was tender and benevolent; wiſe and unreſerved; free from deſign, and without guile; conſtant and ſteady to his friends, calm and not vindictive to his enemies; dutiful to his prince, and faithful to his country; or, to ſum up all, abhorred by DOMITIAN; employed, honoured, and entruſted by TRAJAN.

REGULUS

REGULUS was of a narrow timorous nature: he was filled with that vicious kind of ambition, which cannot be ſatisfied without the deſtruction of whatever ſtands in the way; he was dark and bloody; ſuſpicious and deſigning; and, as he knew not how to be beloved, all he could attempt was to be feared. His tongue, like an adder, was poiſonous and deadly to mankind: *his throat was an open ſepulchre*, gaping wide to receive the dead; loyalty was ever in his mouth, but never in his heart; or, if he was loyal, it was only to ſuch tyrants as NERO and DOMITIAN.

REGULUS eaſily diſcerned, that, in the reign of TRAJAN, PLINY was likely to be honoured and diſtinguiſhed; the ſubtle REGULUS made it part of his religion to worſhip the firſt dawnings of greatneſs, wherever they appeared; he therefore applied himſelf immediately to SPURINNA and other common friends, that they might intercede and endeavour to perfect a reconciliation: after their interceſſions, he tried what effect his own rhetoric, and ſubmiſſion might have: but PLINY was armed with a ſhield againſt all attacks. He waited for the brother of the unfortunate perſon, who had been put to death; and was obliged in friendſhip and equity not to ſhew any countenance to the proſecutor of RUSTICUS, till MAURICUS came back; *illum enim eſſe hujus conſilii ducem, me comitem decet:* "for, ſays PLINY, he ſhould "be the leader, and I only his companion."

There are two remarkable points in this epiſtle, that frequently occur in the daily commerce of life. The firſt is, guilt occaſions a man to diſcover ſomething he would chuſe to hide, and wiſhes unſaid: the other is, ill-nature generally drives a man beyond his mark, and makes him ſay ſomething, tending rather to the honour, than the prejudice of the perſon, whom he ſtrives to injure. Of the former, what can be a plainer inſtance, than where REGULUS confeſſes in particular, from the ſelf-conſciouſneſs of having abuſed and vilified PLINY in general, that he had attacked him, together with SATRIUS RUFUS, in a ſarcaſtical inſinuation with regard to their judgements? which ſarcaſm, unleſs diſcovered by a voluntary confeſſion, might have paſſed as a genteel compliment, although intended as an audacious ſneer. Of the latter, the reproach of *the Vitellian ſcar* is a demonſtration, that the malice of the heart often carries the policy of the head beyond the bounds of true artifice. The occaſion of that ſcar happened in the civil wars between

between VITELLIUS and VESPASIAN; wars, which though of no long continuance, were very bloody. RUSTICUS, who was then prætor, had been ſent ambaſſador to PETILIUS CEREALIS, to treat upon terms of peace, from VITELLIUS, and the ſenate of *Rome*; but the ſoldiers of PETILIUS ſtubbornly rejected all offers of accommodation, and went ſo far in their rage, as to wound the ambaſſador, to kill one of his lictors, and to drive away his followers. This was univerſally looked upon as an infringement on the privilege of an embaſſy, and a manifeſt violation of the law of nations; "and the action, ſays TACITUS, was held in "greater abhorrence, becauſe ARULENUS RUSTICUS, be-"ſides the ſacred character of a prætor and ambaſſador, was "a man greatly admired and eſteemed."

It is moſt probable, that ARULENUS RUSTICUS received his wound in the midſt of the popular fury, when he was utterly defenceleſs, his chief lictor murdered, and his whole train of attendants diſperſed. In ſuch a ſituation the braveſt man muſt have endeavoured to ſave himſelf by flight. But REGULUS wanted ſufficient candour to diſtinguiſh between a flight of neceſſity, and a flight of cowardice: his malice would have imputed to fear an action, which was the effect of prudence, and for which RUSTICUS was rather to be commended, than to be blamed.

Poteſt tamen fieri, ut hæc concuſſa labantur; nam gratia malorum tam infida eſt quam ipſi: "But theſe advantages "perhaps may be ſubject to a ſhock, and become unſettled: "for the regards of bad men are as faithleſs as their natures." An idol of a faction, when kept up by party, may compare himſelf to a man, who is toſſed in a blanket: whilſt he is at the higheſt pitch, he affords greateſt pleaſure to thoſe who hold the coverlet, and whenever he comes near the ground, they throw him up again with exultations; till growing weary of their office, they maliciouſly let their burthen fall, and then perhaps either his neck is diſlocated, or ſome of his bones are broken. PLINY knew, that the props, which ſupported the wealthy and powerful MARCUS REGULUS, were in themſelves rotten and unſound: he thought it beſt therefore to begin by making them totter; and of conſequence the edifice, which they ſuſtained, muſt immediately tumble down. It is an obſervation, that holds good to this day, and will to the end of the world, that the *gratia malorum* is as uncertain, as the ſea.

Subdola cum ridet placidi pellacia ponti [a].

" The harlot ſea our eaſy faith beguiles,
" And threatens danger moſt, when moſt ſhe ſmiles."

Where there is no virtue, there can be no ſteadineſs. Men, who have nothing but ſelf-intereſt in view, follow the power, and not the perſon: it is equal to them who guides the reins of empire, a PLINY or a REGULUS.

[a] Lucretii, Lib. 2. ℣. 559.

EPISTLE VI.

PLINY *to* CORNELIUS TACITUS.

YOU will laugh, and well you may. Your friend, your PLINY, the man you know ſo well, even I, have taken three ſwinging boars. PLINY! ſay you: Yes, PLINY, the individual PLINY; without any great interruption either of my indolence or of my ſtudies. The nets were ſpread, and I ſat down cloſe to them; but inſtead of boarſpear, or javelin, I was armed with my pencil and my pocket-book. I firſt formed my thoughts, and then I writ them down, being reſolved to return with my table-books full, although my hands ſhould be empty. Deſpiſe not this method of ſtudy. It is ſurpriſing, how much the exerciſe of the body contributes to the alacrity of the mind. On every ſide of you are woods and wilderneſſes; which, together with the ſilence that conſtantly attends this diverſion, are powerful incitements to ſtudy and reflexion. Therefore (take it from my authority,) when you go next a hunting, carry not only your bread-baſket, and your leathern bottle, but your writing tables alſo; and you will find the mountains are not more inhabited by DIANA than by MINERVA. Farewell.

OBSER-

OBSERVATIONS.

If a thorough-bred fox-hunter ſhould read the curious narrative contained in this epiſtle, he would immediately conclude, that our author had not the leaſt degree of ſpirit, or taſte in field diverſions. Books, and pen and ink, are againſt the very eſſence of hunting. MINERVA has no more buſineſs in the woods, than DIANA has in the cloſet. But PLINY reſolved not to deſert his ſtudies, even upon the moſt preſſing temptations; he went out, rather becauſe he was in the country, than becauſe he had any delight in the ſport; and knowing life to be ſhort, he was determined not to ſquander away any part of it unimproved, or in abſolute amuſement.

The ſages of antiquity were rather poachers than ſportſmen: they had no kind of delicacy in the muſic of the hounds, or the compoſition of the pack. They had no ear; deepneſs, loudneſs, or ſweetneſs of cry, were undiſtinguiſhed, and diſregarded by the Greeks and Romans. Their dependance was upon their nets, more than upon their dogs: and the ſilence, which PLINY hints at in this letter, proceeded from ſuperſtition, not from thought; for [b] SCALIGER expreſly ſays, *Neutiquam fauſtum putamus in venatu loqui:* "It is reckon'd an ill omen to ſpeak in hunting." And [c] XENOPHON tells us, that the antients, in their method of boar-hunting made uſe of ſeveral inſidious ſtratagems, to draw the furious beaſt into certain traps called *tendiculæ*, where immediately they put an end to his life by dogs, javelins, and hunting-ſpears. Thus he fell like CÆSAR; overcome by numbers, and ſubdued by traitors.

It is obſervable, that the antients knew nothing of the proper dreſs for hunting. They were entirely ignorant of the velvet cap, the jockey boots, the ſnaffle bridle, the black cravat, the green coat, and thoſe other ornaments, which ſet off and diſtinguiſh a true ſportſman. When PLINY hunted, he was dreſſed like a capuchin; his gown, by way of cowl, was pulled over his head; he thought jingling couples too noiſy to hang dangling by his ſide, nor were the names and figures of his dogs engraved upon his but-

[b] Jul. Cæſ. Scaliger poetices, lib. 1. paſtoralia, cap. 4.
[c] Xenoph. Κυνηγ.

tons: his belt was neither laced nor embroidered, nor was his hair tucked up with a comb: his outward garb, like his inward diſpoſition, was the habit of a philoſopher.

How different are the venatorial games exerciſed by the heroes of our days! They court death, they are in love with danger, and they undergo the utmoſt fatigue, merely for the honour of breaking their own necks;

Ne quiſquam Ajacem poſſit ſuperare niſi Ajax [d].

"Our huntſman ſcorns to die the common way;
"None but the 'ſquire, the 'ſquire himſelf ſhall ſlay [e]."

[d] Ovid Metamorph. Lib. 13. ℣. 390.

[e] Their ſports, their courage, and their labours, are finely deſcribed by Mr. SOMERVILLE, in his poem called *the Chace*.

EPISTLE VII.

PLINY *to* OCTAVIUS RUFUS.

SEE to what an eminence you have exalted me, by giving me the ſame power and dominion, that HOMER gives to the great and mighty JOVE:

Great Jove conſents to half the chief's requeſt,
But Heaven's eternal doom denies the reſt [f].

In the ſame manner, I can deny half, and grant the other half of what you deſire: for as it becomes me, ſince you make it your requeſt, to refuſe the inhabitants of *Andaluſia* my aſſiſtance againſt one particular man; ſo on the other hand, I cannot think it conſiſtent with my honour, and that ſteadineſs, which you have ever approved of in me, to appear againſt a province, which I have formerly obliged by many good offices, and not without pains and hazard to myſelf. I will keep therefore this medium; out of your two requeſts, ſince you abſolutely inſiſt that

[f] POPE's Homer, Book 16. Line 306.

I grant

I grant one, I will chuſe that, which may not only ſatisfy your wiſhes, but will be moſt agreeable to your judgement; becauſe I am not ſo much to conſider, how a man, excellent as you are, may be pleaſed with my behaviour merely on this occaſion, as how to gain and ſecure your approbation for ever. I hope to be at *Rome* about the middle of *October*, where I ſhall confirm to GALLUS, in perſon, what I have here promiſed; for the performance of which, I ſhall engage your word as well as my own. In the mean time, you may anſwer for me in theſe lines;

Then with his ſable brow he gave the nod,
That ſeals his word, the ſanction of a God[g].

Why ſhould not I more than once quote HOMER's verſes to you, ſince you will not let me quote any of your own, which I am ſo ardently deſirous to ſee, that I think verily they are the only bribe, that could corrupt me to appear againſt the *Andaluſians*. I had almoſt forgot, what ought leaſt to have been forgotten, my thanks for thoſe admirable dates you ſent me: they are ſo good, that I know not whether to give the preference to them, or to the figs and muſhrooms. Farewell.

OBSERVATIONS.

There is a certain ſteadineſs of mind in this letter, which can only ariſe from a ſound underſtanding; and a certain inclination to oblige, and to give no offence, which can only proceed from a tenderneſs of heart. This epiſtle introduces itſelf with that good humour, which ought always to ſubſiſt among friends; becauſe with men of ſenſe, ſubjects of the greateſt conſequence, when treated in an eaſy and familiar way, loſe nothing of their weight and importance, by being devoid of that ſolemn ſtiffneſs, which is ſo acceptable to the ſons of ignorance, and pride.

[g] POPE's Homer, B. 17. ℣. 245.

OCTAVIUS RUFUS was a poet; and PLINY finding it impoſſible to comply entirely with his friend's requeſt, begins with a quotation out of HOMER, that he might make his denial, though but in part of that requeſt, acceptable at leaſt by the manner of declaring it. VIRGIL, who copied HOMER with a pencil little inferior to his great maſter's, has tranſlated this quotation thus;

Audiit, et voti Phœbus ſuccedere partem
Mente dedit, partem volucres diſperſit in auras [h].

"APOLLO heard, and part of his requeſt
"Confirm'd, in open air diſpers'd the reſt."

Good nature is a virtue, that inſpires us with the trueſt notions of tenderneſs and compaſſion: but unleſs it is tempered by cool ſenſe, and deliberate reflexion, it drives us into an extreme of folly and weak compliance, which ends at laſt in loſs of reputation, fortune, and friends. On the other hand, where good nature (as in this letter) is guided by reaſon, and directed by judgement, it is a godlike attribute, which puts us a degree beyond the common herd of mortals, and makes us worthy the peculiar care and providence of that great ſource, from whence it ſprings. To a mind naturally inclined to acts of kindneſs and humanity, nothing can be more irkſome, than to be under a neceſſity of curbing thoſe generous paſſions. This is finely illuſtrated by a paſſage in VIRGIL, where PALLAS, the ſon of EVANDER, addreſſing his ſupplications to HERCULES, who had formerly been his father's gueſt and friend, adjures the God by the genial nights, which, in his mortal ſtate, he had once paſſed under EVANDER's roof, to crown him with victory, and to endow him with the ſpoils of TURNUS the *Rutilian* King. Fate rendered the petition vain, and ALCIDES heard with ſorrow a prayer, which he could not grant;

Audiit ALCIDES *juvenem, magnumque ſub imo*
Corde premit gemitum, lacrymaſque effudit inanes [i].

"With grief ſuppreſs'd, the youth ALCIDES hears,
"And his full eyes ſhed unavailing tears."

[h] Æneid. II. ℣. 794. [i] Æneid. X. ℣. 464.

Here

Here VIRGIL, whoſe benevolence of nature equalled the brightneſs of his genius, makes even a deity ſhed tears, when unable to defend and preſerve the virtuous ſon of EVANDER; and the poet, by filling the breaſt of HERCULES with all the tenderneſs of affliction, beautifully inſinuates, that the greateſt courage, and the greateſt compaſſion, generally dwell together in the ſame ſoul.

PLINY, who had always been an advocate for the *Bætici*, found himſelf much embarraſſed by a requeſt from GALLUS, who was his particular friend, to be council for him in a cauſe, which he was carrying on againſt them. The requeſt was made by OCTAVIUS RUFUS, who inſiſted, that PLINY ſhould not appear againſt GALLUS, if he was reſolved not to appear for him. The difficulty of ſuſtaining a conſiſtent character gave occaſion to this polite letter. *If I could*, ſays our author to RUFUS, *excuſe myſelf upon your account to the* Bætici, *as no doubt I might, for not appearing againſt a friend, whom I love and honour; yet I ſhould run the hazard of forfeiting that eſteem, with which you favour me, by departing from a ſteady way of acting, that I have hitherto purſued, and which has always met with your approbation. I am to conſider your opinion of me in general; and therefore will not, by endeavouring to pleaſe you in one particular inſtance, incur the misfortune of diſpleaſing you ever after. The* Bætici *are a people whom I have conſtantly ſerved with the utmoſt fidelity, and have neither ſpared pains, nor feared dangers, when I thought I could obtain juſtice for the province, or do it eſſential ſervice. I cannot therefore waver now, and plead againſt thoſe people. But if I cannot plead againſt the* Bætici, *much leſs can I plead againſt* GALLUS. *The medium I intend to follow, agreeable to your requeſt, is to withdraw, and to be abſent upon the occaſion.*

Bætica is a part of *Spain* now called *Andaluſia*. It derived the name of *Bætica* from the river *Bætis*, (at this day the *Guadalquivir*) which runs through the middle of the country. The elder PLINY deſcribes it as a very fruitful ſpot: [k] *Cunctas provinciarum diviti cultu, et quodam fertili ac peculiari nitore præcedit:* "It has the pre-eminence over "the reſt of the provinces by the richneſs of its culture, "and its fertile and peculiarly beautiful appearance." In the time of our author it was a Roman province; and the dangers he hints at, aroſe from the oppoſition he conſtantly

[k] Plin. Hiſt. Lib. 3. cap. 1.

exerted, and the accuſations he was frequently engaged in, againſt the rapacious governors, who were inſtituted by DOMITIAN, to pillage, and feaſt upon this country. Under wicked emperors, provinces muſt expect wicked governors; and this particular territory was too fine a morſel, not to have ſome favourite vulture fix his claws upon it: but PLINY, ever zealous in the cauſe of juſtice, knew no fear, felt no fatigue, ſtopt at no danger, when oppreſſed right, or deſerted virtue called him to the bar.

EPISTLE VIII.

PLINY *to* POMPEIUS SATURNINUS.

YOUR letters, in which you importuned me to ſend ſome of my writings to you, came very ſeaſonably. For, I was juſt then fully determined in that point: you have therefore given the ſpur to a very willing racer, and have at once ſaved yourſelf the excuſe of refuſing ſuch a trouble, and me the aukward baſhfulneſs of aſking it. I think, I may now confidently uſe the offer, that is made me; neither can you for ſhame ſhrink back from your own propoſal: however expect not any thing new from a man ſo indolent as I am. What I am going to aſk you, is to paſs your judgement once more upon that ſpeech, which I made to my fellow-citizens, when I dedicated a public library to their uſe. I remember, you then gave me ſome criticiſms upon it in general; but my preſent requeſt is, that you would not only give a ſtrict attention to the whole, but that you will not let a ſingle ſyllable eſcape your moſt minute correction; for even after your emendations, I ſhall ſtill be at liberty, either to publiſh, or ſuppreſs. However, your corrections may poſſibly determine me; and your pen, by frequently going over the work, may either find it unworthy and unfit for the public, or, by the ſame means, give it another turn, and make it fit to appear. But I muſt own, that the motives

motives of my delays and apprehenſions ariſe not ſo much from the ſpeech itſelf, as from the ſubject of it; for certainly it is too full of vanity; becauſe I muſt inevitably wound my modeſty (be my expreſſions never ſo condeſcending and humble) when I am obliged to ſet forth, not only the munificence of my anceſtors, but my own generoſity alſo. The path is dangerous and ſlippery, even although a man were ſeduced into it by the moſt urging neceſſity. For, if an unwilling ear is lent to the praiſes we beſtow upon others, how much more difficult will it be to obtain a patient hearing, when our whole diſcourſe is about ourſelves and our relations? If virtue, when naked, is envied, it will be more ſo, when ſet off in any oſtentatious manner. In ſhort, good deeds can only eſcape cenſure, by being buried in obſcurity and ſilence. For which reaſon, I have often aſked my own conſcience, Is this compoſition of mine merely for my own vanity; or is it not as much for the uſe of the public in general, as for myſelf?

Another reflexion, that occurs to me, is, that many things, which are neceſſary whilſt we are performing an action, muſt loſe their uſefulneſs and their grace, the moment that action is performed. And not to go farther for examples, what could be more uſeful than to explain the grounds and motives of my liberality, and even to make it the ſubject of a diſcourſe? From whence theſe advantages reſulted; firſt our attention was for ſome time engaged in a ſeries of virtuous and liberal thoughts; and then again, by dwelling long upon them, we became thoroughly acquainted with their beauties; and laſtly, we were ſecured from the uneaſineſs of that repentance, which is the certain conſequence of a raſh and overhaſty munificence. Hence too we were in a manner brought to a habit of deſpiſing money; for as nature has inſtilled into all men a deſire of keeping

keeping what they have, we, whoſe love of liberality proceeded from having long and well weighed that virtue in the equal balance of judgement and reflexion, releaſed ourſelves from thoſe chains, common as they are to the reſt of mankind; and our generoſity was likely to appear the more to our honour, as it was the effect of reaſon, and not the ſallies of whim and paſſion. To theſe arguments may be farther added, that I did not exhibit games or gladiators; but, in their ſtead, eſtabliſhed an annual income for the maintenance of young perſons of good families and ſmall fortunes. Pleaſures, that are merely for the entertainment of the eyes and ears, are ſo far from wanting commendation, that they ought rather to be reſtrained than to be encouraged by public ſpeeches. To induce a man to undergo the irkſomeneſs and fatigue of education, not only gifts, but the moſt inticing eloquence is neceſſary: for if phyſicians, by kind and gentle language, perſuade their patients to ſwallow down their nauſeous, yet wholeſome medicines; how much more ought a true lover of the public, to uſe all the ſoft bewitching arts of oratory, when he exhibits an entertainment not ſo acceptable as uſeful to the people? eſpecially, when it was my buſineſs to endeavour, that what was given to thoſe, who had children, ſhould be approved of by thoſe, who had none; and that the many others, who muſt be excluded from an honour, which could be enjoyed only by few, ſhould patiently wait in expectation of that honour, and try to deſerve it.

But, as at the time I ſpoke this ſpeech, I ſtudied more the public advantage, than my own private reputation, in ſhewing how deſirous I was, that the full intention and deſign of my benefaction ſhould be thoroughly underſtood and take effect accordingly; ſo now I am afraid, by ſending it into the world, I ſhall appear to have my own glory more in view, than any advantage that can accrue to other people.

Beſides

Beſides all this, I cannot forget, that the conſciouſneſs of virtue gives more real pleaſure, than the fame of it.

Glory ſhould follow, not be purſued: and though merit may not always be crowned with glory, her charms are not the leſs from that misfortune. But the perſons, who do public benefits, and afterwards ſet them off by public ſpeeches, ſeem to have done them, that they might be ſpoken of, not to ſpeak of them, becauſe they had been done. By which means a performance, that might appear highly magnificent, when related by another, vaniſhes to nothing, when ſet forth by the author himſelf. For when people cannot deſtroy the action, they immediately attack the vanity of it: ſo that if you do a thing, that ought to be concealed, the action is blamed; and if you do a thing, that ought to be praiſed, you are blamed for not concealing it.

There is yet another very particular reaſon, which deters me from making this oration public: for I did not ſpeak it to the people, but I ſpoke it to the Decurions, nor to them openly, and in the ſight of the world, but privately in their own court. I fear therefore it will ſeem inconſiſtent, that at the time I ſpoke it I ſhould fly from the applauſes and acclamations of the multitude, and ſhould now run after thoſe applauſes and acclamations by publiſhing the work: and that I ſhould then keep out the people, for whom it was deſigned, even from the walls of the court, merely to avoid the leaſt ſhew of ambition, and ſhould now, as it were by a voluntary piece of oſtentation, try to gain thoſe very people, who can really reap no other benefit from my gift, than what may ariſe from the example of it.

You are now told the cauſes of my delay: however, I will follow your advice, be it what it will; and your authority ſhall be a ſufficient reaſon for my actions. Farewell.

OBSER-

OBSERVATIONS.

This letter is obſcure in the original. It is too certain, that at this diſtance of time we muſt be often obliged to take our aim at random, and rather to gueſs whereabouts our author is, than to be ſure of pointing him out exactly. But, if our ſuppoſitions carry with them an air of probability, founded upon reaſon, they may be no leſs agreeable, than a well-turned ſtory, which is ſure to give pleaſure, though it is not full of truth in every particular.

The occaſion of this epiſtle is a moſt exemplary piece of liberality in PLINY, who had given to the people of *Comum*, his native city, (whoſe inhabitants enjoyed the privilege of *Roman* citizens,) a public library, open and acceſſible, at all times, and to all degrees of men. This gift was attended by a ſpeech, in which our author ſet forth the ſeveral advantages, he propoſed to his fellow-citizens, by the preſent he then offered them. A preſent, which was directed entirely to the benefit of others, and not to any fame or intereſt, that might accrue to himſelf. On theſe occaſions it was uſual to inſtitute games, and exhibit ſhews, that might at once adorn and perpetuate the ſolemnity of ſo public a benefaction: but the money, which, according to former cuſtom, had been conſumed upon theſe pompous extravagancies, was appropriated by PLINY to another uſe. He allotted it to eſtabliſh an annuity for the maintenance and encouragement of a certain number of young perſons of both ſexes (all *Novocomenſes*) whoſe pedigrees were honourable, but whoſe fortunes were low; young men and women, who laboured under the dignity of birth, and the ſlavery of want [1].

No virtue is more eaſily miſtaken than true generoſity; becauſe profuſeneſs, oſtentation, and cunning, often aſſume the ſhape of munificence, and paſs upon the world with applauſe and ſucceſs. A man, who ſquanders away his money, without any kind of regard, or choice, upon whom his gifts are beſtowed, has no more right to the character of generoſity, than the miſer, who locks up his riches in a cheſt. Equipages, numberleſs ſervants, uſeleſs plate, and fine cloaths, are no greater inſtances of generoſity, than

[1] Vide Lib. 7. Ep. 18.

they

they are of humility: neither can millions laid out to accompliſh ſome ſly deſign, that lurks behind large bags of money, be eſteemed the effects of liberality, or be thought to proceed from a generous heart. PLINY, in this epiſtle, has diſtinguiſhed extremely well between true and falſe liberality: his ſpeech turned upon that topic; and as he could not avoid to mention in it the particular view he had in ſo exemplary a piece of munificence, he choſe to call his bounty, an imitation of the noble examples ſet before him by his anceſtors, rather than to aſſume the full glory of it to himſelf. His modeſty farther obliged him to ſpeak this oration to as ſmall an audience as poſſible; and therefore he pronounced it to the *decurions* privately in their own court, not ſuffering the doors to be opened to the impatient multitude, who ſtood waiting without.

Modeſty recommends itſelf, at the ſame time that it flies commendation; and, like the magnet, attracts even iron, without being conſcious of the power it contains. What Mr. WALLER [m] ſays of love, may be applied to modeſt men; *the victors fly from the vanquiſhed, the conquerors ſhun the conquered.* Mr. COWLEY ſeems to have recollected this epiſtle, where he ſays, *It is an hard and a nice ſubject for a man to ſpeak of himſelf; it grates his own heart, to ſay any thing of diſparagement, and the reader's ears to hear any thing of praiſe from him.*

The *decurions*, ſpoken of here, by PLINY, were the *decuriones municipales*; a name given to the ſenators of the Roman colonies. They were called *decuriones*, becauſe their court conſiſted of ten perſons. AUGUSTUS choſe this method to give the cities of *Italy*, ſuch as had colonies, a ſhare in the election of Roman magiſtrates, the *decurions* having ſuffrages therein. *Comum*, one of the cities in *Gallia Ciſalpina*, was a Roman colony: it had been firſt made ſo by SCIPIO, and afterwards greatly augmented by POMPEY and CÆSAR. And as PLINY's bounty was intended for the uſe and benefit of his fellow-citizens, it was neceſſary for him to regiſter his act before the *decurions*, who had in a manner the care and government of the whole *province* committed to their charge: but even then he followed the moſt ſecret and leaſt oſtentatious method that could be purſued, and pleaded, as it were, before judges at their own chambers.

[m] In love the victors from the vanquiſh'd fly.

PLINY

PLINY in this, as in ſome preceding letters, ſeems to have fixed a reſolution, that none of his works ſhould appear in public till they had been overlooked by his friends. Few people were preſent, when he ſpoke this oration; but the impatience of ſeeing it was univerſal: his genius, learning, manners, and benevolent diſpoſition were known and admired, and he was preſſed on all ſides to indulge the public with his performances in general, but with this work in particular; which he commits therefore to the peruſal of POMPEIUS SATURNINUS, on whoſe judgement he had the utmoſt reliance. But time has deprived us of every thing relating to the ſpeech, except this letter.

EPISTLE IX.

PLINY *to* MINUTIUS FUNDANUS.

IT is ſtrange, that the manner of paſſing our time at *Rome*, every ſingle day we ſtay there, either is, or ſeems to be agreeable to ſenſe and reaſon; and yet were we to paſs it in that manner all the year round, it would ſeem the contrary. For example, if you aſk a man, *What he has been doing to day?* the anſwer is, *I attended a friend's ſon at his putting on the* toga virilis: *I was at the ſigning a marriage contract: I was at a wedding: I was witneſs to a will: I was ſummoned as advocate in a cauſe: or, a certain neighbour of mine wanted my advice.* The day you do theſe things, they ſeem of great conſequence; but when you reflect, that every day has been thus employed, they appear of no conſequence at all. And of this you are ſtill more convinced, when you are retired at a diſtance into the country. Then your memory accuſes you, and you cry out, *Alas, how many days have I conſumed in trifles?* A reflexion, that conſtantly occurs to me, as ſoon as I ſettle myſelf at *Laurentinum*, either to read, or write, or uſe ſuch bodily exerciſes, as may conduce to the ſupport and chearfulneſs of my mind. There I hear nothing, that I repent

pent to have liſtened to: I ſay nothing, that I repent to have uttered: no perſon under my roof vents any ſcandal; nor is any perſon ſubject to my reproofs, except myſelf, who am often diſcontented at my own writings. No hopes deceive me; no fears moleſt me; no rumours diſturb me: my books and my thoughts are the only companions with whom I converſe. Welcome, thou life of integrity and virtue! Welcome, ſweet and innocent amuſement! Thou that art almoſt preferable to buſineſs and employment of every kind. O ſea! O ſhore! thou genuine retreat of ſtudy! how do you aſſiſt and enrich our invention! with what thoughts do you inſpire us! Ariſe then, FUNDANUS! ſnatch the firſt opportunity; tear yourſelf from empty noiſe, uſeleſs hurry, and trifling labours; and give yourſelf up to ſtudy, or repoſe: for, as our friend ATTILIUS has wiſely and jocoſely ſaid, *It is better to be quite inactive, than active to no purpoſe.* Farewell.

OBSERVATIONS.

In this letter PLINY ſeems to have conſidered the many inconveniencies of a city life, and the advantages, pleaſures, and ſatisfaction of a life paſſed in the country, in retirement and eaſe. He begins by taking notice, that the buſtling employments of the town fill up a man's time ſo ſucceſſively, that he has not an hour's leiſure to recollect of how little conſequence, and how unſatisfactory thoſe occupations are. It is a kind of faſhion, ſays he, at *Rome* to be in a perpetual hurry about ſuch trifles, as appear to us, when we reflect upon them afterwards, merely ropes of ſand. He then mentions ſeveral ways, that contributed to kill time in that city. The inſtances he makes uſe of, are indeed things neceſſary in themſelves to be done, ſuch as marriages, contracts, wills, *&c.* but the witneſſes were generally ſummoned out of compliment, and rather becauſe they happened to be in town, than becauſe their preſence was indiſpenſably wanted; ſo that a man once freed from the town, would be certainly freed from ſuch employments.

HORACE complains, like PLINY, of a city life, and ſays, that he no ſooner approaches the gardens of MÆCENAS at *Rome* (near which were the burying places for the dead, and therefore they are called the *Eſquiliæ atræ*) than an hundred ſuitors leap out and ſeize upon him.

At ſimul atras
Ventum eſt Eſquilias, aliena negotia centum
Per caput, et circum ſaliunt latus [n].

"When to the Eſquilian boundaries I come,
"My country pleaſures ill exchang'd for *Rome*,
"Seiz'd and aſſaulted by a various crowd
"Of anxious mortals, talkative, and loud,
"Strait all their cares, and bus'neſs, muſt I hear,
"Buz round my head, and teaſe my tortur'd ear."

The poet then goes on to recite their various queſtions, ſollicitations, and complaints: all which particulars fully repreſent the miſerable ſituation of a man of any importance, whoſe buſineſs draws him to noiſe and hurry, and whoſe inclination leads him to ſtudy and repoſe. The whole ſatir may ſerve as a beautiful comment upon this epiſtle.

PLINY further ſays, that when he comes to *Laurentinum*, his country ſeat, and looks back upon thoſe days which he has paſſed at *Rome*, he is ſurprized and ſorry, that ſo much of his time has been waſted upon trifles. At *Laurentinum* he either improved himſelf by reading and writing, or amuſed himſelf in ſuch exerciſes, as contributed to the health of his body, and the ſtrength and vigour of his mind. *Corpori vaco, cujus fulturis animus ſuſtinetur*: "I give myſelf "leiſure to attend to my bodily health, upon the ſtrength "of which greatly depends the ſtate of my mind." Riding was probably his favourite exerciſe, as it is not only conducive to health and long life, but to ſtudy and ſpeculation. It not only braces the nerves of the body, but enlivens the faculties of the ſoul; the one being ſo actuated by the other, and their ſenſations ſo woven together and intermixed, that where the proper temperament of the body is not preſerved, the faculties of the ſoul cannot exert themſelves with vigour. The motion of riding keeps up the hu-

[n] Lib. 2. Satir 6.

man

man œconomy in the manner deſcribed by JUVENAL, [o] *mens ſana in corpore ſano:* "the body ſound and underſtanding "clear." And at the ſame time that it helps digeſtion, it drives away all thoſe noxious vapours ſo fatal to the *Engliſh* nation in particular, and ſo deſtructive to judgement and reaſon in general. It is performed at leſs expence of ſpirits than walking or any other exerciſe; and ſeems to have been inſtituted by providence, at once for the pleaſure and preſervation of mankind.

PLINY proceeds to tell us, that in the country, he is under no ſort of reſtraint, either in what he hears or what he ſays. An univerſal freedom reigns there, and all the bleſſings of ſocial life are enjoyed in their full liberty and perfection.

Nemo apud me quenquam ſiniſtris ſermonibus carpit: "At "my table, ſays our author, there are no bitter inſults "vented againſt any perſon whatſoever; the characters of "the preſent and the abſent are equally ſafe there." This maxim, laid down in oppoſition to ſlander and defamatory ſlurs, ſhews ſuch a benevolence of nature, and ſuch an uprightneſs of heart, that it cannot be ſufficiently admired, nor too cloſely followed. The *ſermones ſiniſtri* are thoſe ſort of malicious inſinuations, which, by expreſſing little, leave room to imagine a great deal: they are like poiſoned foils, with which no body imagines he can be deeply wounded, and yet their touch is infallible deſtruction. They conſiſt of half-words, hints, doubts, and ſneers; but they never could find admittance into PLINY's doors.

O dulce otium, honeſtumque, ac pæne omni negotio pulchrius! We perceive in this ſentence the preference, which PLINY gives to the *otium*, or life of indolence, before the *negotium*, or life of buſineſs, not upon all, but upon many occaſions. His meaning ſeems to be this: "As much as I prefer, ſays he, "the ſerenity of repoſe, to a more active, and leſs re-"tired ſcene of life, yet there are ſome particular kinds of "employment, for which I would quit my tranquillity with "pleaſure; employments, wherein the intereſt of my "friends, my duty to my emperor, or the proſperity of "my country, are depending, and concerned."

O mare! O littus! verum ſecretumque Μουσεῖον! *Quam multa invenitis! Quam multa dictatis!* "O ſea! O ſhore! "ſweet retirement, and ſuitable place for ſtudy, how do "you help my imagination, what ſentiments do you in-"ſpire!" A philoſopher, who like PLINY extracted know-

[o] Juvenal Sat. 10. ℣. 356.

ledge, and gathered ſpeculations from every outward object around him, muſt cry out, *Quam multa invenitis, dictatiſque!* whenever he viewed the ſea, looked down upon the ground, or turned his eyes up to heaven. The exclamations which he makes uſe of in this ſentence, and which ſeem to riſe upon him as he recollects the happy hours he has paſſed upon the ſtrand, παρὰ θῖνα πολυφλοίσβοιο θαλάσσης, are extremely beautiful. The ſilence of the ſhore, the proſpect on every ſide, and the ſolitude of the place, were all ſo many excitements to thought and reflexion. It was here our author choſe to retire; it was here he choſe to ſtudy; it was here he contemplated the wonders of the deep, and the mighty works of the creation: *Jovis omnia plena.* This was as far as the ableſt and the wiſeſt man could go, without the light of Chriſtianity: and therefore PLINY's notions of the deity muſt ariſe from the mighty wonders of the univerſe, *from the heavens above, from the earth beneath, and from the waters under the earth:* each of which *declareth the glory of God*, each of which *ſheweth his handy work.*

We ſee in this epiſtle a calmneſs and ſerenity of thought, a love of ſolitude and retirement, and a preference of the country to the town, which are the conſtant effects of a mind void of offence, and totally at peace with itſelf: and the epiſtle is at the ſame time a juſt cenſure upon that buſy, buzzing, vain-glorious animal, an important trifler; who, in the days of PLINY, was conſtantly to be found in the *Forum* at *Rome*, and in theſe days, and in this iſland, is to be met with in all public places within the bills of mortality.

EPISTLE X.

PLINY *to* ATRIUS CLEMENS.

IF ever polite learning ſhone in our city, it is now in meridian glory: numerous and eminent are the examples of it: out of the many I need quote only one, EUPHRATES the philoſopher. When I was a young ſoldier in *Syria*, I had an opportunity, by being frequently at his houſe, to look into him thoroughly: and I took ſome pains to be beloved by him: pains I ſhould not ſay, for he is by nature eaſy

eaſy of acceſs, open, and a ſtrong inſtance of the humanity which he teaches. I wiſh I had fulfilled the hopes he conceived of me at that time, in the ſame proportion, that he has added to the virtues he then had: or, perhaps, I admire thoſe virtues more now than I did at that time, becauſe I underſtand them better; although as yet I have only an imperfect idea of them; for as in pictures, ſtatues, and works of that kind, a man muſt be an artiſt to be a judge: ſo in wiſdom, a man muſt have it in himſelf to judge of it in others. But if I judge rightly, the virtues of EUPHRATES are ſo eminent and conſpicuous, that they muſt neceſſarily affect any man, who has a moderate ſhare of learning. His arguments are carried on with great acuteneſs, great weight, and great embelliſhments: and he frequently diſplays that ſublime and diffuſive kind of eloquence, which is ſo remarkable in PLATO. His ſtyle is fluent and often varied, and ſo diſtinguiſhed by ſweetneſs, that he both leads and drives thoſe, who are moſt obſtinately determined to oppoſe him. Add to this the tallneſs of his ſtature, the gracefulneſs of his countenance, his fine head of hair, and his buſhy and ſilver beard: which, though they may be looked upon as the gift of chance, and of no intrinſic value, yet greatly encreaſe the veneration paid to him. His dreſs is perfectly neat and plain: his looks are grave, not forbidding; ſo that at firſt ſight he will ſtrike you with great awe, but it is an awe void of fear. The politeneſs of his manners is equal to the innocence of his life. He attacks the vices, and not the perſons of men; nor does he ſo much chaſtiſe, as amend them. Your attention muſt inevitably follow, and hang upon his inſtructions: and when you are perfectly convinced by his exhortations, you will wiſh to hear them again.

He has three children, two of which are ſons: theſe he has educated with the utmoſt care. His fa-

ther-in-law, POMPEIUS JULIANUS, is a man of a moſt exalted character, but particularly in this, that he, who was governor of a province, and had the chief nobility there at his command, choſe out EUPHRATES for his ſon-in-law, not as a perſon diſtinguiſhed by his honours, but by his wiſdom. Yet, why ſhould I ſpeak any more of a man, who is loſt to me? Is it to encreaſe the anguiſh, that I ſuffer in ſuch a loſs? tied down as I am to one of the greateſt, and conſequently one of the moſt troubleſome employments in the empire: an employment, that obliges me to hear cauſes, to ſign petitions, to make up public accounts, and to write innumerable letters, where not one word of polite literature can poſſibly be introduced. Now and then I take an opportunity (for ſometimes I ſnatch a moment from buſineſs) to complain to EUPHRATES of the fatigues of my employment: he comforts me by aſſurances, that it is one of the moſt beautiful parts of philoſophy to carry on the affairs of the public, to make oneſelf maſter of buſineſs, to give judgement, to expedite and to execute juſtice, and thus to put in practice the various leſſons we learn from the philoſophers themſelves. In this inſtance his perſuaſive eloquence fails: nor can I be convinced, that it is better to be employed as I am, than to paſs my time in attending his lectures, and learning his precepts; for which reaſon I am more earneſt in exhorting you, who have leiſure, that the next time you come to *Rome* (and you ſhould come the ſooner for ſuch a call) you will ſuffer yourſelf to be poliſhed by ſo maſterly a hand. In this you perceive I follow not the example of many others, by envying thoſe benefits, of which I cannot partake: on the contrary, I feel a moſt ſenſible pleaſure, in ſeeing my friends enjoy thoſe advantages, which fate denies to me. Farewell.

OBSER-

OBSERVATIONS.

Every man bears two characters; the one directly the reverſe of the other, and perhaps neither exactly true. This ariſes from the blind partiality of friends, and the boundleſs inveteracy of enemies: by the firſt we are painted gods, by the latter devils; and yet look into us, and we are only an earthly being, ſituated betwixt the two extremes. EUPHRATES the philoſopher, whoſe picture is here drawn in ſo ſweet an attitude by PLINY, is painted by PHILOSTRATUS, according to the ſcholiaſt CATANÆUS, in the moſt hideous colours imaginable. PLINY deſcribes him of a very rare, and excellent nature. If PHILOSTRATUS is to be credited, he was *Inter fœneratorum menſas caupo quæſtuarius, fœnerator, publicanus, nummularius, ad omnia venalia ſe convertens, foribus potentiorum magis affixus quam janitores.* So baſe a character ought not to be rendered into Engliſh. But to clear up and explain the injured reputation of EUPHRATES, we may reſt on the unblemiſhed honour of PLINY, which, like the ſhield of AJAX, will at once cover himſelf and his friends.

The friendſhip between EUPHRATES and our author began, when the latter was extremely young; when he was learning the art of war in *Syria*. It may be imagined from thence, that he was deſigned for the army, rather than the bar; but ſuch an imagination can only ariſe from the narrow method of education that prevails in our own times. The Romans proceeded in another manner; they bred up the young gentlemen, who were intended for the bar, in the ſcience of war, and military affairs, ſo that after they had filled the offices of prætor, or conſul, they might be capable of governing provinces, and acting, if required, with as much knowledge and authority in the camp, as in the forum. Thoſe, who were deſigned for the army, were previouſly brought up to underſtand the civil conſtitution, and to know the full ſcope and extent of the Roman laws: by which means moſt of their generals were orators, and moſt of their orators were generals. The ſoldier knew how to adminiſter juſtice, and the lawyer knew how to exerciſe and command troops; nor can a more compleat character be formed, than the ſoldier and the orator both joined in one man.

A man, the ſtate's whole thunder born to weild,
And ſhake at once the ſenate and the field [P].

At the time that PLINY wrote this letter to ATRIUS CLEMENS, he bore one of the chief offices of the ſtate: he was *præfectus ærarii*, a commiſſioner of the treaſury. CORNUTUS TERTULLUS was his collegue in that office. PLINY was equal to the truſt and dignity of ſo great an employment.

[P] POPE's character of JOHN duke of ARGYLE.

EPISTLE XI.

PLINY *to* FABIUS JUSTUS.

IT is an age ſince I heard from you. You will ſay you have nothing to write: write then to tell me ſo; or let your letter conſiſt only of that old faſhioned compliment, *In hopes that you are well, I am ſo at this preſent writing*. This, even this, will ſatisfy me: for what can I deſire more? You imagine I jeſt; upon my word I am ſerious. Tell me, pray tell me, how you paſs your time? I cannot bear your ſilence without great uneaſineſs. Farewell.

OBSERVATIONS.

Abſence is the touchſtone of friendſhip. A man of an unſteady diſpoſition ſlights and forgets thoſe when abſent, who were his darling favourites when preſent: but the heart of a firm and faithful friend is not to be altered by time, place, or other ſeparating circumſtances. It is from this conſtancy of ſoul, that PLINY ſhews, in the foregoing ſhort epiſtle, ſuch a fervency of affection, and ſuch an impatient eagerneſs after the health, and welfare of FABIUS JUSTUS.

In the freedom and frequency of converſation betwixt two perſons, whoſe intimacy leads them to be often together, little jars, and ſplenetic altercations will now and then ariſe, which occaſion coolneſs, and heart-burnings, that create a ſhyneſs, and ſtir up an uneaſineſs on each ſide; but abſence

cures,

cures, and obliterates all ſuch differences; and the abſent friend appears like a diamond ſet to view at a diſtance, which diſplays amazing brightneſs, when not too cloſe to the eye; but upon a nearer approach, and a more minute examination, is often diſcovered to have ſome ſmall flaws, that take away from the luſtre, and depreciate the value. Death, which is only a longer abſence, has the ſame effect, but in a much ſtronger degree; ſo that we frequently ſee the ill-natured huſband weeping with great ſincerity over his wife's monument, and the moroſe father breaking his heart for an undutiful ſon. There is a ſtrange perverſeneſs in human nature; we love and hate at wrong ſeaſons; paſt and future pleaſures we view through magnifying glaſſes; the preſent we never enjoy: but like children cry for thoſe play-things, which, when we have in our hands, we tear to pieces.

To juſtify theſe general obſervations, may we not ſuppoſe, that when PLINY ſays to FABIUS, *Ludere me putas*, he is conſcious of ſome little bickerings, that had paſſed between them? the remembrance of which might make FABIUS wonder at ſuch warm expreſſions of love and friendſhip, and ſuch a zealous and kind reproach, for not being ſo conſtant in his epiſtolary correſpondence, as he had been in his perſonal viſits.

EPISTLE XII.

PLINY *to* CALESTRIUS TYRO.

I Have ſuffered the heavieſt loſs, if the deprivation of ſo great a man is to be expreſſed by that name. CORELLIUS RUFUS is gone! fallen too by his own choice! a galling aggravation of my ſorrow; for to me, that kind of death, which proceeds neither from nature nor from fate, ſeems of all others the moſt to be lamented. Where ſickneſs puts an end to life, we ſubmit to the inevitable neceſſity, and are comforted; but where death is voluntarily called in, our grief feels no allay, becauſe we muſt believe our friends might have lived much longer. CORELLIUS was

induced to this action by the ſtrength of reaſon, (which to wiſe men ſtands in the place of fate) notwithſtanding the many inducements he had to live; a clear conſcience, an excellent character, great influence and intereſt. Add to theſe, his daughter, his wife, his grandſon, his ſiſters, and, amidſt ſo many tender pledges, his true and faithful friends: but he laboured under ſo long, and ſo grievous an illneſs, that with all theſe valuable conſiderations of life, the motives of death were ſtill ſtronger. At three and thirty years of age (as I heard him declare) he was firſt ſeized with the gout. It was hereditary to him: for our diſtempers, like other things, are often delivered down to our poſterity. Whilſt he was young, he conquered and kept it under by abſtinence and temperance; and upon the firſt attack, after he grew into years, he ſuſtained it by the greatneſs of his mind. I came to him in the reign of DOMITIAN, when he had a houſe not far from *Rome*, and found him ſuffering under the moſt inexpreſſible anguiſh, and the moſt wretched torments that can be imagined: for at that time the diſtemper had not confined itſelf to his feet only, but had wandered through every part of his body. The attendants in his bedchamber immediately went out: This was his cuſtom whenever any of his moſt familiar friends came to him: Nay, his wife, a woman capable of being entruſted with the higheſt ſecrets, left the room. He rolled his eyes, and ſaid to me: *Wherefore, Oh! wherefore do you think I bear my cruel pains ſo long? It is that I may, if poſſible, outlive this monſtrous tyrant* [q], *though it were but one ſingle day. Great* JUPITER! *hadſt thou beſtowed upon me a body equal to my mind, my wiſhes ſhould have been accompliſhed.* Heaven granted his deſire, with which he was ſo fully contented, that knowing he ſhould now die a free

[q] DOMITIAN.

unenſlaved

unenſlaved Roman, he broke through all the leſſer ties, numerous as they were, that chained him down to life. His diſtemper had for ſome time encreaſed, although he had tried to aſſwage it by temperance: at length the continuance of it overcame his conſtancy; and he had already abſtained, during four days, from all kind of nouriſhment, when his wife HISPULLA ſent our common friend, CAIUS GEMINIUS, to me, with the diſmal news, that CORELLIUS was determined to die; that neither the entreaties of herſelf, nor her daughter, made the leaſt impreſſion upon him; and that I was the only perſon left, who could reconcile him to life. I ran immediately, and was already juſt at his door, when again HISPULLA ſent JULIUS ATTICUS to let me know, that now even my interceſſions would not avail, ſo obſtinately was he hardened in his reſolution. He had ſaid to his phyſician, who was preſſing him to take ſome food, *I am determined:* A ſentence, that filled my ſoul at once with aſtoniſhment and grief. I now reflect what a friend, what a man I am deprived of! He was ſixty ſeven years old when he died; a length of age ſufficient for men of the moſt robuſt conſtitutions: I know it. He is releaſed from perpetual torture: I know it. He left his relations, nay he left the commonwealth, dearer to him than all his relations, flouriſhing and happy. This I know alſo. And yet I mourn his death, as if he had fallen in the flower of his youth, and the full ſtrength of his conſtitution: but to own to you my weakneſs; my ſorrow is in a great meaſure occaſioned upon my own account: I have loſt, oh I have loſt the witneſs, the guide, the maſter of my conduct. In ſhort to tell you what, in the firſt tranſports of my grief, I ſaid to our neighbour CALVISIUS; I fear I ſhall grow leſs circumſpect than I have been. Adminiſter therefore ſome comfort to me: tell me not, that he was old, that he was infirm, (they are circumſtances I

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have

have long known) but let it be ſome new, ſome uncommon conſolation; ſomething I have never heard, nor read. All that I have already heard, or read, occurs to my memory; but that is not ſufficient to overcome my ſorrow. Farewell.

OBSERVATIONS.

Among the many misfortunes, to which human kind are liable, the death of friends is leaſt ſupportable. If the doctrines and conſolation of Chriſtianity are often not ſufficient to alleviate the weight, how much more heavy muſt it be to heathens, labouring under the darkneſs and uncertainty of a future ſtate? They had indeed a mythology, in which were ſet before them a heaven and a hell, rewards and puniſhments, happineſs and miſery: but the ſyſtem was mixed with ſuch an infinite number of ſtrange fables, ſtuffed with ſo many ſhocking abſurdities, and built on ſuch notorious improbabilities, that it was impoſſible to be believed by men of learning and philoſophy. From the light of nature therefore our author ſeems to have drawn the following ſentiment.

Eſt enim luctuoſiſſimum genus mortis, quæ non ex naturâ, nec fatalis videtur. Nam utcunque in illis, qui morbo finiuntur, magnum ex ipſâ neceſſitate ſolatium eſt; in iis verò, quos arceſſita mors aufert, hic inſanabilis dolor eſt, quod creduntur potuiſſe diu vivere.

"My friend, ſays PLINY, has fallen by his own hands: "a moſt melancholy circumſtance in the loſs of him; for "ſurely that ſort of death, which is the effect of choice, "and not of fate, is, of all others, the moſt to be regretted, "eſpecially when I conſider that he might have lived much "longer: ſo that I am deprived of that comfort, which "ariſes from a total ſubmiſſion to the decrees of heaven."

Reaſon, even unaſſiſted, might teach us, that the Being, who gave us life, has a right to diſpoſe of it, when and how he thinks fit: and ſo ſenſible were the antients of this doctrine, and of the horrid impiety of ſelf-murder, that VIRGIL [r] has placed the *Suicides* in a ſtate of puniſhment, ariſing entirely from their own reflexions on what they had done.

[r] Æneid. 6. ℣. 434, &c.

Proxima

Proxima deinde tenent mœſti loca, qui ſibi lethum
Inſontes peperere manu, lucemque peroſi
Projecere animas. Quam vellent æthere in alto
Nunc et pauperiem et duros perferre labores!
Fas obſtat, triſtique palus inamabilis undâ
Alligat, et novies Styx interfuſa coercet.

" The next in place, and puniſhment, are they,
" Who prodigally throw their ſouls away.
" Fools, who repining at their wretched ſtate,
" And loathing anxious life, ſuborn'd their fate.
" With late repentance, now they would retrieve
" The bodies they forſook, and wiſh to live.
" Their pains and poverty deſire to bear,
" To view the light of heav'n, and breathe the vital air.
" But fate forbids; the *Stygian* floods oppoſe;
" And, with nine circling ſtreams, the captive ſouls
" incloſe [f].

It is impoſſible to read the authors of antiquity, whoſe writings are ſo juſtly eſteemed models of every moral virtue, without being convinced, that they imagined themſelves to be accountable after death for the actions of their life: and although ſelf-murder became a faſhion among ſome of the Romans, who thought it more honourable to die, than to be enſlaved; yet where ſuicide was committed merely to avoid pain, and to find relief from agony, it was rather deemed an act of impatience than of bravery: and PLINY takes notice in this letter, that, notwithſtanding the long ſtruggles of CORELLIUS, againſt the torments of his diſtemper, his conſtancy at length forſook him, and he died obſtinately refuſing all nouriſhment, and declaring with his laſt breath, that he was tired of life, weary of his ſufferings, and poſitively determined to expire.

The deſcription, which PLINY gives of his friend in pain, and the ſpeech, which CORELLIUS makes from the couch of ſickneſs, are ſo conciſe in the original, that they ſeem to demand ſome kind of explanation.

" In the reign of DOMITIAN, CORELLIUS RUFUS had " a moſt ſharp and dangerous fit of the gout. I happened

[f] DRYDEN.

" to

" to viſit him at that time: he was in a lodging he had " taken near the town for the benefit of air: as ſoon as I " entered his chamber, his ſervants that were about him " withdrew, for he would not ſuffer his domeſtics, though " ever ſo uſeful or neceſſary in his illneſs, to be preſent, " when any of his friends were in the room: no, nor even " his wife, though ſhe was a woman of prudence and ſe- " crecy beyond the generality of her ſex.

" When we were alone together, he cried out, rolling his " eyes with pain and indignation: Oh! SECUNDUS! SE- " CUNDUS! Are you not amazed I ſuffer theſe torments! " To what end do you imagine I live? Is life worth pur- " chaſing at ſo dear a rate? Yes, yes, on one account it is: " let me outlive DOMITIAN but one ſingle day, and I am " ſatisfied: let me ſee that tyrant fall before me, and I die " with pleaſure. Gods! had the ſtrength of my body been " equal to that of my mind, at this moment my hand ſhould " fulfil the wiſhes of my heart."

The next ſentence, *affuit tamen Deus voto*, ſtands in great need of a comment. We might infer from the words, *Heaven granted his requeſt*, that CORELLIUS RUFUS had gathered ſtrength ſufficient to kill DOMITIAN, but the context is this.

" Though the Gods did not endue him with ſtrength ſuf- " ficient to perform the mighty deed, which his thoughts " had entertained, yet they granted his requeſt of outliving " DOMITIAN. Heaven permitted him to ſee the tyrant " fall: DOMITIAN periſhed, and RUFUS ſurvived."

The latter part of this letter is entirely dedicated to grief: it ſhews PLINY in a different, and perhaps more amiable light than any of the preceding epiſtles: he is loſt in ſorrow, and concludes almoſt in the words of SHAKESPEARE;

My particular grief
Is of ſo floodgate and o'er-bearing nature,
That it ingluts and ſwallows other ſorrows,
And yet is ſtill itſelf.

EPISTLE

EPISTLE XIII.

PLINY *to* SOSSIUS SENECIO.

THIS year has produced a moſt plentiful harveſt of poets. Scarce a day in the month of *April* has paſſed without a poem: when learning flouriſhes, I am always pleaſed. I wiſh men of genius to come forward and ſhew themſelves; although, in general, rehearſals are not well attended: and, as an example of it, you will ſee great numbers ſitting idly in the lobbies, liſtning to every ſtory-teller that comes in their way, ſending in to know whether the orator is yet in his roſtrum, whether he has gone through the preface of his ſpeech, whether the greateſt part of his performance be over; and ſo at length they vouchſafe to come, but how? ſlowly and with reluctance. Nor can they then be prevailed upon to ſtay, but retreat before the end of it, with this difference, that ſome ſteal away ſlily and unobſerved, others go off boldly and unconcerned. Heavens, how unlike is this to the behaviour of CLAUDIUS CÆSAR; who (no longer ago than within the memory of our fathers,) is ſaid to have heard a loud noiſe, as he was walking in his palace, and to have aſked what was the cauſe of it! They told him NONIANUS was rehearſing in public: upon which the Emperor voluntarily quitted his company, and immediately became one of the audience. But now early ſolicitations joined to frequent advertiſements cannot prevail upon the idleſt idler to be preſent: or, if he comes, it is with a complaint that he has loſt the whole day, becauſe it is the only day that he really has not loſt. But from hence the more praiſe and applauſe muſt certainly accrue to thoſe, whom neither the lazineſs nor the pride of ſuch an audience can deter from writing, and ſpeaking in public. For my own part, I have ſcarce ever abſented

ſented myſelf from theſe exerciſes; which, it is true indeed, were performed by my friends; for there are few, who love literature in general, who have not a particular affection for me. Theſe have been the reaſons, that I have waſted more time in town than I deſigned. I may now fly back to my retirement, and ſet about ſome work, which I ſhall certainly not rehearſe in public; leſt it ſhould ſeem, that I attended theſe rehearſals, not ſo much to hear, as to put in a claim of being heard in my turn; for it is in this, as in all other matters of favour, if retaliation is expected, the grace of having been one of the audience is entirely loſt. Farewell.

OBSERVATIONS.

Throughout this epiſtle, PLINY diſcovers his love of letters, and his aſſiduity and unwearied attendance on the public rehearſals: Exerciſes, which were generally performed by young orators, who were determined to ſhine in the forum, and at the bar. To theſe different ends they rehearſed verſes, or made ſpeeches, before as large an audience, as by intereſt, entreaties, or advertiſements, they could draw together. Theſe poetical rehearſals laſted, as we learn from MARTIAL, during the whole day.

Auditur totâ ſæpe poeta die [t].

PLINY, from poets, turns his obſervations upon orators, and laments the little attendance that is paid to their recitals, even leſs than in the days of CLAUDIUS CÆSAR, who did great honour to NONIANUS, by appearing, unaſked, at one of his rehearſals. NONIANUS is mentioned by QUINTILIAN as an hiſtorian [u]: SERVILIUS NONIANUS *ipſe a nobis auditus eſt, clari vir ingenii, et ſententiis creber, ſed minus preſſus quam hiſtoriæ auctoritas poſtulat:* "I have "been preſent at the rehearſals of SERVILIUS NONIANUS, "a man of bright talents, and very ſententious, but leſs

[t] Martial. Lib. x. Ep. lxx.
[u] Quintilian. Lib. x. cap. 1.

"cloſe,

"cloſe, than the dignity of hiſtory ſeems to require." His works are entirely loſt.

In the reign of AUGUSTUS, arts and ſciences were cultivated with great ſucceſs: they roſe to their higheſt pitch of glory, and they made *Rome* the envy and example of the whole world: even *Athens* yielded to her the laurel of fame. In the reigns of TIBERIUS and CALIGULA learning grew languid, and held down her head. TIBERIUS was too wicked to be learned, and CALIGULA knew no more of letters than his conſul the horſe. However, under CLAUDIUS CÆSAR ſome degree of literature revived: that dull emperor had in his younger days paſſed away much time at ſtudy; nay, he was an author, and had a kind of affection for men of genius and erudition; of which, to ſay truth, the inſtance quoted in this epiſtle is perhaps the ſtrongeſt, that can be found in hiſtory.

Theſe public orations are contrary to our method of introduction to the bar; and no more time need be taken up in an explanation of them. There is indeed a ſhadow of that diſcipline ſtill ſubſiſting in our univerſities: and certainly ſpeeches delivered from the *roſtrum* help to overcome an unhappy baſhfulneſs, which too often eclipſes men of the greateſt merit, and of the brighteſt talents: A baſhfulneſs, which the Greeks called δυσωπία, and the French *la mauvaiſe honte.*

EPISTLE XIV.

PLINY *to* JUNIUS MAURICUS.

YOU aſk me to look out for a huſband, to whom you may give your niece: a taſk, in which you very rightly prefer me before all others. For you well know, how I loved and honoured that excellent man her father. You well know by what encouragements he cheriſhed my youth, and what praiſes he beſtowed upon me at that time, to make me afterwards capable of deſerving them. No command of yours to me could carry greater weight and pleaſure with it: nor can I be engaged in a more honourable undertaking, than in chuſing out ſome young man,

from

from whom may deſcend grandſons and ſucceſſors to ARULENUS RUSTICUS. Such a man might be long ſought after, if MUNITIUS ACILIANUS did not preſent himſelf to my mind, born as it were for that purpoſe: he is ſome few years younger than I am, ſo that we live with the eaſy familiarity and affection of young people, and yet he reveres me as an experienced old man. He ſubmits to be modelled and inſtructed by me, in the ſame manner as I have been by you, and your brother: his country is *Brixia*, in our part of *Italy*, which ſtill retains and keeps up the modeſt, frugal, and plain manners of the antients. His father is MINICIUS MACRINUS, the head of the equeſtrian order, having always declined a higher ſtation: for VESPASIAN offered to chooſe him one of the prætors; but he was conſtant and firm in preferring virtuous retirement to ſuch purſuits as ours, which I am in doubt whether to call ambition or dignity. His grandmother, on his mother's ſide, is SERRANA PROCULA, a native of *Padua*. You know the manners of the place, but SERRANA is an example of the ſtricteſt virtue even to the *Paduans*. His uncle is P. ACILIUS, a man of ſingular authority, prudence, and integrity. In ſhort, throughout the whole family you will find nothing but what will pleaſe you, as much as in your own. As for ACILIANUS himſelf, he is a man of a ſtrong conſtitution, indefatigable at buſineſs, and yet of an invincible modeſty. He has paſſed through the ſeveral offices of quæſtor, tribune, and prætor, with great honour, and ſo has ſaved you the trouble of ſoliciting thoſe employments for him. His countenance is free and open, his complexion ruddy and healthful, his whole perſon beautiful and genteel, and his carriage graceful and ſenatorian. Theſe are accompliſhments by no means (according to my way of thinking) to be overlooked; but they are ſuch as ought to be mentioned, as a reward due to a young lady's unblemiſhed

blemiſhed chaſtity. I do not know whether I ſhould add, that his father is very rich. When I conſider to whom I am pointing him out as a ſon-in-law, I think riches ought not to be mentioned; but when I reflect upon the prevailing cuſtoms of the times, and particularly upon the laws of our city, by which men are valued according to the value of their eſtates, certainly, in that view, riches are not to be omitted. Beſides, when we look forward to a numerous poſterity, and the many conſequences of marriage, a good fortune is a very neceſſary ingredient. Perhaps you will imagine I have been indulging my partial fondneſs for ACILIANUS, and have ſtrained the character beyond the truth: but, I give you my word, you will find hereafter, that every thing I have ſaid, will admit of greater latitude, than I have taken. I love the young man entirely, and he deſerves my affection. But ſtill, a religious part of that love is not to overload my friends with praiſes. Farewell.

OBSERVATIONS.

There could not be a ſtronger mark of confidence ſhewn by one man to another, than by MAURICUS to PLINY, in an epiſtle, to which this appears to be the anſwer. ARULENUS RUSTICUS, who, as we learn by the fifth epiſtle of this book, fell a ſacrifice to REGULUS, left behind him, recommended to the care and guardianſhip of his brother, JUNIUS MAURICUS, an only daughter, for whom her uncle, [w] *vir gravis, prudens, multis experimentis eruditus*: "A "man of great weight, and prudence, and of much expe- "rience," deſires PLINY to chuſe a huſband.

Match-makers are at this day looked upon as the peſt of mankind; but their diſreputation muſt have been occaſioned by the wickedneſs of mercenary wretches, who try to chain two people together, without any other conſideration, than the private advantages, that may accrue to themſelves. Such match-makers may be compared to certain jockeys, who, when they bring forth an horſe to ſale, have an art of mak-

[w] Vide lib. 1. Epiſt. 5.

ing him appear healthy, docile, and worth purchaſing; but the buyer frequently finds him the next day vicious, headſtrong, or perhaps half eaten up with the farcy. Yet what can be in itſelf a greater inſtance of friendſhip, or a more virtuous intention, than to endeavour to make a man and a woman of merit, happy in each other during their lives? PLINY embraces the employment with great alacrity and zeal; and his pleaſure is encreaſed by the qualifications, and admired accompliſhments of ACILIANUS, whoſe fortune, perſon, and character, ſeem ſuited to the education and virtue of ARULENA.

When a marriage is compleated, that takes riſe from good ſenſe, inclination, and equality of age, dignity, and fortune, (ſuch a match as PLINY propoſes in this epiſtle,) the joy is diffuſed through every branch of the family: the parents, the relations, the friends, taſte the ſweet effects of the happy union; and the whole ſcene is a repreſentation of heaven, as near as the ſtate of mortality can come up to it. But, when we turn our eyes towards the other ſide of matrimony, towards the black, the melancholy, and the tempeſtuous part of it, the objects are too hideous to be looked at; and the ſubject too diſmal to be delineated.

EPISTLE XV.

PLINY *to* SEPTITIUS CLARUS.

YOU are a fine gentleman. You promiſe to come to ſupper, and never come; it is but juſtice, that you ſhould pay every farthing the ſupper coſt. An expence, that you will ſmart for. Let me ſee then;

There were ſerved up to each gueſt a ſingle lettice, three ſnails, two eggs, a cake, the compoſition of which was honey, wine, and ſnow, (I mention ſnow as a moſt eſſential part of the expence, becauſe it periſhes in the diſh, and cannot appear again) *Andaluſian* olives, gourds, garlic, and a thouſand other things, equally delicate. Then you might have heard the players; you might have attended to a lecture; or you might have liſtened to a harp; or indeed, ſuch

is

is my generoſity, you might have had all theſe entertainments together. But you (I forget at whoſe houſe) regaled yourſelf with oiſters, ragouts of pork, and lobſters, and ſaw the dancers from *Cadiz*, in preference to what I could offer you.

You muſt ſuffer for this; I cannot yet determine in what manner: but you have acted cruelly: you have puniſhed me; perhaps I ſhould ſay too much, if I added, you puniſhed yourſelf alſo; and yet I think I may affirm it. How agreeably had we paſſed our time, ſometimes in diverſion, ſometimes in laughter, and ſometimes in ſtudy! You may ſup more ſplendidly at many places, but no where with more innocent mirth, or more unguarded freedom. Upon the whole, make the experiment; and if hereafter you do not chuſe to ſup with me, rather than with any other perſon, I will excuſe you for ever. Adieu.

OBSERVATIONS.

The Romans had three meals in the day. The firſt was the *jentaculum*, or breakfaſt, which was only a piece of bread dipped in pure wine: the ſecond was the *prandium*, or dinner, which was always very plain and moderate: and the third was the *cœna*, or ſupper: this was the chief, and generally the laſt meal, and was never begun till the buſineſs and fatigue of the day were over. There were indeed ſometimes two other meals; the *merenda*, or afternoon's beaver, and the *comeſſatio*, or collation after ſupper: the firſt of which was rather to ſatisfy hunger, than to indulge luxury; and the latter was merely to promote riot, drunkenneſs, and noiſe. SUETONIUS, in his life of VITELLIUS, has this expreſſion: *Epulas trifariàm ſemper, interdum quadrifariàm diſpertiebat; in jentacula, et prandia, et cœnas, commeſſationeſque*: "VITELLIUS never failed to make three, and ſome-"times four meals a day: a breakfaſt, a dinner, a ſupper, "and after that a revelling banquet."

The Romans generally ſupped about three o'clock during the ſpring and autumn ſeaſons, in winter about two, and in

the heat of ſummer never ſooner than four. The ſupper conſiſted of three courſes: the firſt was called the *antecœna* or *guſtatio*; in which were ſerved up eggs, cockles, and different kinds of ſhell-fiſh. The ſecond courſe was called *cœna*, and conſiſted of the choiceſt dainties, amongſt which there was always one diſh ſuperlatively good, diſtinguiſhed by the name of the *caput cœnæ*, and never ſuffered to go away untaſted. The third courſe was the deſert, or the *menſa pomorum*, a ſervice of apples, and various ſorts of fruits.

As apples were brought up in the laſt courſe, ſo were eggs in the firſt; from whence the proverb, *ab ovo uſque ad mala:* "From the egg to the apple." And during the time of ſupper the gueſts were entertained with ſeveral diverſions, pantomimes, players, muſicians, and ſometimes gladiators: thoſe, who were more ſtudiouſly inclined, had certain ſelect pieces read to them out of the beſt authors; as appears by the account which PLINY gives to SEPTITIUS CLARUS: *Audiſſes comœdos, vel lectorem, vel lyricen, vel omnes:* "You might have liſtened to the comedians, or have "heard a good reader, or an harper, or might have had all "theſe elegancies united:" and afterwards, *quantum nos luſiſſemus, riſiſſemus, et ſtuduiſſemus:* "What paſtime, what "laughter, or what ſtudy might we not have enjoyed!"

The feaſt of TRIMALCHIO by PETRONIUS, and a dialogue in *Lucian* called *Sympoſium*, or the *Lapithæ*, explain the Roman ſuppers, when carried beyond the rules of ſobriety, with infinite wit and humour. The feaſt of NASIDIENUS, in the eighth ſatire of the ſecond book of HORACE, mentions the manner of wiping down the table:

Puer altè cinctus acernam
Gauſape purpureo menſam perterſit; et alter
Sublegit quodcunque jaceret inutile, quodque
Poſſet cœnantes offendere.

"The ready boy (attendant at our feaſt
"With purple napkin) clean, and tightly dreſt,
"Wipes down the table, and another there
"Officious comes, each uſeleſs thing to clear;
"Careful, that nought behind ſhould ever ſtay,
"Which any of the gueſts might wiſh away.

"And

And though tablecloths were not in faſhion, yet, as appears by the ſame ſatire, every man had his napkin:

VARIUS *mappâ compeſcere riſum*
Vix poterat:

"VARIUS from laughing ſcarcely could refrain,
"But put the napkin to his mouth in vain."

As a farther inſtance of cleanlineſs, a *veſtis cœnatoria*, or ſupper garment, was put on whenever the Romans lay down to table; and according to SILIUS ITALICUS, the Gods were conſtantly addreſſed in prayer;

Nec prius aut epulas, aut munera grata Lyæi,
Fas cuiquam tetigiſſe fuit, quam multa precatus
In menſam:

"Nor touch'd the meat, nor taſted was the wine,
"Till ev'ry gueſt implor'd the pow'rs divine."

This was the conduct of a Roman entertainment, when managed with decency, elegance, and order; and for any other, it is not to be found in PLINY, whoſe manners and morals were too delicate to admit of riot and intemperance.

EPISTLE XVI.

PLINY *to* SEXTUS ERUCIUS CLARUS.

I Have long been an admirer of POMPEIUS SATURNINUS, whom I may diſtinguiſh by the title of our particular friend. I extolled his genius, even before I knew how luxuriant, how manageable, and how extenſive that genius was: but now I am wholly captivated by him, and he has full poſſeſſion of me.

I have often heard him plead with great earneſtneſs, and energy, and at the ſame time with great politeneſs, and elegance; and whether his ſpeeches were premeditated or not, they were equally excellent.

His reflexions were always rightly adapted and numerous; his ſtyle was weighty and graceful, and his words were ſonorous and ſterling.

All theſe things pleaſe extreamly, when you hear them delivered with a remarkable vehemence and fire; they pleaſe too even without thoſe advantages. You will perceive this as well as I, when you take up any of his ſpeeches to read; and you will allow him comparable to ſome of the antients, whom he emulates. Look upon him in another light, as an hiſtorian, and he will anſwer your expectations ſtill more. His narrations are conciſe, perſpicuous, delightful, bright, and even ſublime. His hiſtorical ſpeeches have the ſame ſpirit with his orations; only they are more nervous, more cloſe, and more contracted.

Add to this, that his verſes are equal to the poetry of CATULLUS or CALVUS. Wit, ſweetneſs, ſatire, love, are mingled in every line; his verſes are generally light and eaſy, but ſometimes harſh and unpoliſhed, and this too in imitation of CATULLUS and CALVUS.

He lately read to me ſome letters, which he ſaid were written by his wife. I proteſt, I thought he had been reading PLAUTUS or TERENCE in proſe: and whether the letters were his wife's, which he affirms, or whether they were his own, which he denies, certainly he deſerves an equal ſhare of glory, either in having compoſed them himſelf, or in making a lady, young and unexperienced when he married her, ſo learned and polite.

I have him before me all the day; I peruſe him before I write; I peruſe him after I have written; I peruſe him when I would unbend my mind; and he is ſtill the ſame, and ſtill new. I entreat and adviſe you to follow my example; and let it not be an objection to his works, that the author himſelf is alive. If he had flouriſhed amongſt thoſe authors, whom we have

have never ſeen, we ſhould not only enquire after his books, but we ſhould ſearch out for ſtatues and pictures of him. And ſhall the honour and happineſs we enjoy by having him amongſt us, grow languid for that very reaſon? Surely it is an erroneous and an ill-natured way of thinking, not to admire a man, who is worthy of admiration, becauſe we can ſee him, ſpeak to him, hear him and embrace him; and becauſe we have not only an opportunity of praiſing his works, but loving his perſon. Farewell.

OBSERVATIONS.

Although PLINY throughont all his epiſtles diſplays an elegance, that charms and improves us at the ſame time; yet the characters drawn by him of his friends are generally his moſt accompliſhed pieces. POMPEIUS SATURNINUS was the perſon, to whom he addreſſes his eighth epiſtle of this book. By the purport of that letter, he ſhews the confidence, which he repoſed in the judgement, and integrity of SATURNINUS: And, by the character of the ſame perſon in this letter, he tacitly gives the reaſons of that confidence. He tells us, that SATURNINUS was eminent as a lawyer, an hiſtorian, and a poet: in pleading cauſes he was at once earneſt in the defence of his clients, and polite in the treatment of his adverſaries; a generous enemy, and a determined friend. As an hiſtorian, he was particularly nervous in his ſtile, and perſpicuous in his narrations: in his poetry, like CALVUS and CATULLUS, he dealt equally in ſatire and in love. The poems of C. LICINIUS CALVUS are irrecoverably loſt: he was the intimate friend of CATULLUS; he has been mentioned by PLINY in the ſecond epiſtle of this book, as an orator, whom he admired and choſe to imitate. In this epiſtle he is conſidered as a poet. The name of his miſtreſs is recorded by PROPERTIUS, and CATULLUS: The following lines point out the affliction of CALVUS at her death:

Si quicquam mutis gratum acceptumve ſepulchris
Accidere a noſtro, CALVE, *dolore poteſt,*
Cum deſiderio veteres revocamus amores,
Atque olim amiſſas flemus amicitias,

Certè, non tanto mors immatura dolori eſt
QUINCTILIÆ, *quantum gaudet amore tuo* [x].

" If ſilent ſepulchres, my CALVUS, know
" Our real ſorrows, and accept our woe,
" When with our tears our friendſhips we purſue,
" And former loves in ſpite of death renew;
" QUINCTILIA pleas'd ſubmits to fate's decree,
" Nor mourns her early death, when wept by thee.

The ſatirical vein of CALVUS is ſaid to have been exerted in the cauſe of liberty againſt POMPEY and CÆSAR; the latter of whom was ſatirized with equal ſeverity by CATULLUS. The behaviour of CÆSAR upon that occaſion is much to his honour: He ſilenced the poet by kindneſs, and drew him to his friendſhip by humanity. But his behaviour to CALVUS is unknown.

Legit mihi nuper epiſtolas, quas uxoris eſſe dicebat: PLAUTUM *vel* TERENTIUM *metro ſolutum legi credidi*, &c. " when he read to me the other day ſome letters, written, " as he aſſured me, by his wife, I could not help thinking, " from the delicacy of the ſtile, and the peculiar turn in " the phraſes, that they had been compoſed by PLAUTUS or " TERENCE: but ſuppoſing them written by his wife, as " he affirms, and not by himſelf, as I ſuſpect, yet his me- " rit is ſo far from being leſſened by her accompliſhments, " that it is rather heightened by the improvements ſhe ap- " pears to have received ſince their marriage: Improvements, " that muſt have been derived from his tuition." The wife of SATURNINUS was particularly fortunate in ſuch a huſband; he was her preceptor, her guide, her lover, and her friend. His precepts were delivered in the fondneſs of his heart, and his leſſons dictated in the warmth and tenderneſs of affection. He endeavoured to improve her underſtanding, and to cultivate and bring forward the blooming beauties of her mind. Providence has originally given the ſame degree of perception to one ſex, as to the other: the ſun-ſhine of education muſt ripen and produce the fruit,

[x] Catul. Carm. xciv.

EPISTLE

EPISTLE XVII.

PLINY *to* CORNELIUS TITIANUS.

VIRTUE and acts of friendſhip are not yet extinct among mankind; there are thoſe, who ſhew themſelves friends even to the dead. TITINIUS CAPITO has obtained the requeſt he made to our emperor, that he might be permitted to place in the *forum* a ſtatue of L. SYLLANUS. It is noble and worthy of the higheſt applauſe, to make uſe of the emperor's friendſhip to ſuch purpoſes, and to employ our ſhare of the royal favour in gaining honours for other men. It has been the conſtant practice of CAPITO to revere the moſt diſtinguiſhed and brilliant characters of every age: and you would wonder to ſee with what great exactneſs, and with what religious reſpect, he has placed in all the convenient parts of his houſe the ſtatues of the BRUTI, the CASSII, and the CATO's; each of whom he has celebrated in an excellent poem containing the chief actions of their lives. You may be certain, that he, who loves virtue ſo much in others, abounds with it himſelf: and by that immortality, which CAPITO has given to LUCIUS SYLLANUS, he has ſecured his own: for it is not leſs honourable to place the ſtatue of another man in the *Roman forum*, than to have our own erected there. Farewell.

OBSERVATIONS.

All honours beſtowed upon the dead, and all marks of tenderneſs ſhewn to the memory of deceaſed friends, are ſtrong inſtances of a moſt laſting diſintereſted affection. It is obſervable from this epiſtle, that TITINIUS CAPITO did not confine his affections within the narrow limits of his familiar acquaintance, or his immediate relations; but extended his regards to all thoſe, who had in any age diſtinguiſhed

guiſhed themſelves in the cauſe of liberty, or who had died in the defence of virtue.

TITINIUS CAPITO was much beloved and highly regarded by the emperor TRAJAN: and we ſee, by this letter, the honeſt uſe he made of ſo envied and ſo honourable a ſituation: he ſcorned the baſe arts of a court; he had the reputation of his maſter ſolely in view, and entirely at heart: he inſtilled no groundleſs doubts, he whiſpered no pernicious falſhoods, and he inſinuated no ſordid flattery into his prince's ear: but by the numerous ſtatues in his own houſe, and thoſe, with which he deſired to fill the *forum*, he endeavoured to convince his maſter, that men of integrity and honour cannot fail to meet with thoſe rewards, and that veneration after death, of which the virulence and rage of party too often deprive them in their life-time. We need enter no farther in this place into the character of TITINIUS CAPITO, becauſe we ſhall find it drawn by PLINY in the twelfth epiſtle of the eighth book: but the tragical ſtory of SYLLANUS, whoſe ſtatue gave occaſion to this letter, ought to be related at full length, with all thoſe circumſtances of guilt and horror, which attended the cataſtrophe.

LUCIUS JUNIUS SYLLANUS was ſon of the conſul APPIUS JUNIUS SYLLANUS, by his firſt wife ÆMILIA LEPIDA, grandaughter of JULIA, and great grandaughter of AUGUSTUS. The dignity of his birth, and the excellencies of his nature, were ſo conſpicuous, that the emperor CLAUDIUS gave his own daughter OCTAVIA to him in marriage. From this alliance his ruin may be dated. AGRIPPINA, the laſt, and, if poſſible, the worſt wife of CLAUDIUS, was a woman of a moſt unbounded ambition, infamouſly abandoned to all kinds of wickedneſs, and of a nature ſo fierce, and cruel, that ſhe felt no pity, and knew no remorſe. Upon the death of MESSALINA, ſhe took advantage of her near affinity to CLAUDIUS, being his niece, to prey upon his weakneſs, and to reap the fruits of his governable ſtupidity: She found him a waxen image, ready moulded to her hands, and ſhe determined from that moment to fix DOMITIUS NERO, her favourite ſon by a former huſband, CNEIUS ÆNOBARBUS, in the imperial throne. She judged, that the firſt ſtep towards ſuch an advancement muſt be the marriage of NERO to OCTAVIA, the emperor's daughter. It was abſolutely neceſſary therefore to deſtroy SYLLANUS, the preſent huſband of OCTAVIA: but his

his life was ſo unblameable, or in the words of SHAKESPEARE,

" He had born his faculty ſo meek, had been
" So clear in his great office, that his virtues
" Pleaded like angels, trumpet-tongu'd againſt
" The deep damnation of his taking off."

Great as his virtues were, the empreſs was reſolved to ruin him; and, as perſons in high ſtations never want fit inſtruments of evil, L. VITELLIUS, at that time cenſor, met all her purpoſes, and embarked in all her deſigns. He foreſaw from the emperor's incapacity, and AGRIPPINA's thirſt of dominion, into whoſe hands the ſovereign power muſt neceſſarily fall: and ſince the ruin of SYLLANUS was the firſt point ſhe aimed at, the politic VITELLIUS was determined to ſhew her a maſter-piece of his art, with a view to ingratiate himſelf by it into her future favour. He therefore cauſed SYLLANUS to be accuſed of inceſt with JULIA SYLLANA his ſiſter; a young lady of great beauty, but whoſe gaiety of temper, like the unfortunate ANNE BOLEYNE's, ſometimes carried her into unguarded, though harmleſs, freedoms with her brother. By this groundleſs accuſation, SYLLANUS fell from the exalted ſtation, in which his birth and marriage had placed him, into the utmoſt miſery and diſgrace. He was degraded from his ſenatorial rank, he was deprived of his office of prætor, and he was divorced from his wife OCTAVIA, without the ceremony of a trial, or even the permiſſion of making the leaſt defence. His ſiſter JULIA, daughter-in-law to VITELLIUS himſelf, was driven out of *Italy*, with all the brands of infamy: not one of the family, not even MARCUS JULIUS, the brother of SYLLANUS, eſcaped the furious wrath of AGRIPPINA. But, to confine ourſelves more particularly to SYLLANUS and his ſiſter, ſhe was no ſooner arrived at the place of her baniſhment, than ſhe haſtened to put an end to her life and her misfortunes.

Free from all thoughts of guilt, all acts of ſhame,
She fell a victim to her murder'd fame:
But if ſome future bard, in tuneful verſe,
Shall her ſad ſtory to the world rehearſe,

Each

Each tender breaſt her virtue muſt revere,
And every wife and ſiſter drop a tear.

And now the emperor having gained a decree from the ſenate, that an uncle might marry a niece, he publickly ſolemnized his eſpouſals with the ſanguinary and relentleſs AGRIPPINA, daughter of his own brother GERMANICUS. Upon the emperor's wedding day L. SYLLANUS killed himſelf. Thus fell the ſon a ſacrifice to the ambitious views of AGRIPPINA, as his father APPIUS had fallen to the libidinous paſſions of MESSALINA; upon which TACITUS makes a remark to this purpoſe; "[y] The city of *Rome* was "now differently enſlaved from what it had been. It was "heretofore a prey to the wanton debaucheries of MESSALINA, but now to the pride and haughtineſs of AGRIPPINA, who, though a woman, was reſolved to govern "with all the tyranny of a man."

When we conſider this melancholy part of the Roman hiſtory, and look back upon all the particulars mentioned in this epiſtle of PLINY, it is difficult to determine, whether it reflects greater honour upon TRAJAN, in permitting the ſtatue of SYLLANUS to be put up at *Rome*, or upon TITINIUS CAPITO in placing it there.

[y] Tacit. Annal. lib. 12. c. 7.

EPISTLE XVIII.

PLINY *to* SUETONIUS TRANQUILLUS.

YOU ſend me word you have been frightened by a dream, which gives you great uneaſineſs, as you think it an ill omen in your law-ſuit. You deſire me to aſk favour of the court, that it may be put off, only for ſome few days: it will certainly be difficult to obtain the latter part of your requeſt; however I will try;

"For dreams deſcend from JOVE [z].

[z] POPE's Homer, Iliad 1. ℣. 85.

But

But it is worth while to conſider, whether you are not uſed to dream by contraries. A dream of mine, which, upon this occaſion, occurs to my remembrance, might encourage you to expect ſucceſs, where you moſt fear a defeat. I was engaged in a cauſe for JULIUS PASTOR, when I dreamt that my mother-in-law appeared kneeling to me, and entreated me not to plead. I was at that time a very young lawyer, I was to plead in four different courts, and I was engaged not only againſt the moſt powerful men in the ſtate, but even againſt ſome of the emperor's chief favourites: any one circumſtance of which, after ſuch a diſmal dream, was enough to ſtartle me from my purpoſe: but I went on, reaſoning in the words of the poet,

" Without a ſign his ſword the brave man draws,
" And aſks no omen but his country's cauſe [a]."

My country, and, if any motive could be dearer than my country, the truſt repoſed in me, urged me on. But I ſucceeded to the full extent of my wiſhes; and the pleading of that day attracted to me the attention of the people, and opened the gates of fame. You will conſider from hence, whether you may not look upon your dream, rather as a good, than an evil omen. But, if you are reſolved to proceed according to the old cautious maxim, " Never " to do any thing with a doubting heart," tell me ſo, and I will find out ſome turn or other, that your cauſe may not be brought on but when you pleaſe. For my ſituation was very different from yours. The court of centumvirs muſt neceſſarily ſit; but the court, where your cauſe is to be tried, may be adjourned, though not without difficulty. Farewell.

[a] POPE's Homer, Iliad 12. ℣. 283.

OBSER-

OBSERVATIONS.

It is no wonder that a man, who has a law-ſuit upon his hands, ſhould be moleſted by evil omens, and haunted by frightful dreams: the uncertainties and fears, which encumber a mind thus ſituated, muſt ſummon up numerous vapours, and various chimæras, that in a more calm and leſs anxious ſtate, could never ariſe even in a dream: and when we conſider the particular character of SUETONIUS, to whom this epiſtle is written, we ſhall be the leſs ſurpriſed to find him alarmed by ghoſts, and terrified by goblins. He is an author, who deals much in that kind of ſuperſtition, and never ſuffers one of his twelve emperors to die, without half a dozen prodigies going before him.

PLINY, we find, was not ſo eaſily ſcared by apparitions; he paid little or no reſpect to his mother-in-law, though ſhe appeared kneeling at his feet: he purſued his firſt deſign, and exerted himſelf in a cauſe before the *centumviri*, in ſuch a manner, as greatly encreaſed that growing reputation, of which the obſervance of his dream muſt have deprived him.

The number of the *centumviri*, although they retained their name, was at this time encreaſed to one hundred and eighty; they were divided by TRAJAN into four different courts or chambers, [*quadruplici judicio*] each conſiſting of forty five judges. They were magiſtrates choſen to decide the law-ſuits, that might ariſe among the people: their judgements were called *centumviralia judicia*, and they were the laſt and higheſt court of juſtice, to which there was any appeal.

EPISTLE XIX.

PLINY *to* ROMANUS FIRMUS.

THE ſame town gave us birth, the ſame ſchool bred us up, and the ſame chamber held us in the earlieſt dawnings of our life. Your father had a ſtrict friendſhip for my mother, for my uncle PLINY, and even for me, as far as the difference of our years would

would permit. Theſe are great and juſt reaſons, why your promotion ought to be next my heart. By your being already *decurion*, it plainly appears, that your preſent fortune amounts to an hundred thouſand ſeſterces [b]: but we muſt not let you ſtop there: we muſt alſo enjoy the pleaſure of ſeeing you a Roman knight: and therefore I ſend you three hundred thouſand ſeſterces [c], that you may be immediately qualified for that order. The long continuance of our friendſhip anſwers and prevents your acknowledgments on this occaſion. If I did not know you, I would remind you of what I am ſure you will do without any hint. You will be as little elated with the new dignity, which I have procured for you, as poſſible, and will conſider, that a character is to be kept up with the niceſt circumſpection, when a man is to reflect reputation and honour upon thoſe friends, who promoted him. Farewell.

OBSERVATIONS.

In this letter methinks PLINY ſeems to have fulfilled that wiſe and generous precept of SOLOMON to his ſon, [d] *thine own friend, and thy father's friend forſake not.* As it is very certain, that the human ſoul is not capable of any greater perfection, or any nearer approach to the divine attributes, than in acts of friendſhip; ſo is it full as certain, that in friendſhip itſelf, there can be no ſtronger inſtance of ſincerity, no plainer proof of affection, than where a man parts voluntarily and unaſked, as in this epiſtle, with a large ſum of money to ſupply the wants, or to raiſe the fortune of his friend. Riches of the mind are frequently beſtowed, with great generoſity and profuſion, on thoſe companions, whom we hold neareſt our heart: our choiceſt thoughts are brought forth and laid before them, with a liberality, that requires no other kind of reſtitution, than a ſmall return of

[b] *Centum millium cenſum:* equal to 807 *l.* 5 *s.* 10 *d.*
[c] *Trecenta millia nummum:* equal to 2421 *l.* 17 *s.* 6 *d.*
[d] Proverbs xxvii. 10.

acquieſcence

acquieſcence or applauſe. But the ſtores of fortune are not ſo eaſily parted with; they are not ſo indiſcreetly given away, or, if they are produced, if they are lent, it is not only with caution and conſideration, but with an attendance of bonds, judgements, intereſt, and ſecurities, that diſcover very different motives from friendſhip. But we have already ſeen ſuch a bounteous diſpoſition in our author, and ſhall, in the courſe of theſe epiſtles, meet with ſo many inſtances of generoſity, flowing from the inexhauſtible ſprings of his natural benevolence, that, whatever may have been the practice among other men, PLINY can never be ſuſpected of meanneſs, or avarice.

EPISTLE XX.

PLINY *to* CORNELIUS TACITUS.

THERE is a friend of mine, a man of knowledge and erudition, with whom I have frequently a diſpute, concerning a certain brevity, which he thinks the chief excellence in pleading cauſes. I confeſs, this qualification ought to be preſerved, where the nature of the cauſe will permit, and where the merits of it can be brought into little room: But, otherwiſe it is a downright fraud upon the client, either to omit any neceſſary matter, or lightly and curſorily to run over thoſe circumſtances, which ought to be repeated, inculcated, and imprinted. For in moſt cauſes, the larger ſcope you take, the greater weight and force will attend your pleadings: and as the continuance of the blow contributes equally with its quickneſs, in making deep wounds on the body, exactly thus is it with impreſſions made upon the mind.

This opinion my friend attacks with authorities from the antients. Among the *Grecians* he urges the orations of LYSIAS: among our own countrymen, thoſe of the GRACCHI and CATO; many of which are ſhort and conciſe.

On

On the other hand, I oppoſe DEMOSTHENES, ÆSCHINES, HYPERIDES, and many others to LYSIAS. I oppoſe POLLIO, CÆSAR, and CÆLIUS, to the GRACCHI and CATO: but my chief example is MARCUS CICERO, whoſe longeſt oration is allowed to be the beſt: and believe me, a good book, like other good things, is the better in proportion as it is larger. You perceive, that in ſtatues, ſculptures, pictures, and other various repreſentations of men, animals, and trees, if they are valuable, their value encreaſes with their ſize: and orations ſhould be meaſured by the ſame rule. Beſides, bulky volumes make a handſomer appearance, and carry with them a kind of indiſputable authority.

My friend, who has a particular art of ſliding away inſenſibly out of reach in a diſpute, evades this argument, and every thing elſe of the kind, by aſſerting, that thoſe orators I quoted, to ſupport me, did, in truth, make ſhorter ſpeeches than they have publiſhed. I am of another opinion, and can defend it by a greater number of examples. Let me ſingle out TULLY in defence of MURENA and VARENUS; in both which orations, he mentioned ſeveral heads of crimes, imputed to his clients, unnoticed in his defence, and to be found only in the titles of thoſe orations. From whence it appears, that he certainly ſpoke a great deal more than he publiſhed. In his defence of CLUENTIUS, he tells us, that, according to the antient conſtitution, he went through the whole proceedings without a coadjutor; and, in his ſpeech for CORNELIUS, he affirms he was four days in his pleadings. So that we have no room to doubt, that thoſe orations, which coſt ſo much time in the repetition, extended then much farther, than they now reach, crouded as they are into one book; which, although large, could never have contained them, unleſs he had pruned and lopt off many of the branches.

But extempore pleadings, and ſtudied written orations, are two very different things. Well, I know there are people of this opinion: yet, for my part, I am fully convinced, perhaps erroneouſly, that there is no other real difference between them than this. A pleading may be very good, when pronounced, which would not appear a good ſpeech, when committed to paper: but it is impoſſible, that a ſpeech, which ſtands the teſt of writing and reading, ſhould not bear the teſt of ſpeaking and hearing; for the formed ſpeech is indeed the ground-work and model of the pleading, and therefore in our beſt orations, ſuch I mean as were never ſpoken, but only publiſhed, we find a thouſand extempore figures, which could have no place naturally and properly, but in real pleadings. For example, in that oration againſt VERRES; *Did you name a workman complete in every art? Who is he? Thanks to your hint, I now recollect him.* POLYCLETUS *is the man.* Hence it follows, that every pleading muſt be more or leſs perfect, in proportion to the likeneſs it bears to the formed oration; I mean every pleading, to the delivery of which a ſufficient time has been allowed: for certainly, where an orator is confined within too narrow limits, the judges, not the ſpeaker, are to blame. Our very laws and cuſtoms favour my opinion, which are ſo far from inſiſting upon brevity, that they indulge great copiouſneſs, that is great exactneſs, in pleadings, which is inconſiſtent with brevity, unleſs in the ſhorteſt and plaineſt cauſes. Let me add what experience, that maſter of undoubted authority, has taught me. I have gone through the ſeveral offices of a pleader, a judge, and a counſellor; and I have obſerved, that ſome are actuated by one reaſon, ſome by another, and that often the minuteſt circumſtances draw on the moſt important conſequences. The judgements of men are different; their inclinations are various. This renders their opinions ſo very widely

widely diſtant upon the ſame cauſe; or, if they agree, even their agreement is founded on oppoſite motives. Beſides, every one favours his own turn of thought, and embraces that as the ſtrongeſt reaſon, which, when given by another, tallies with what he had before determined within himſelf. You muſt take care therefore to throw among your hearers a variety of arguments, that every man may catch ſomething, which he looks upon and feels as his own.

REGULUS ſaid to me one day, when we were engaged on the ſame ſide, *You fancy, that every ſingle circumſtance in a cauſe muſt be fully diſcuſſed and exhauſted: my method is to lay my ſtreſs upon the principal point, and by fixing at once on my adverſary's throat, I ſtrangle him in a moment.* It is very true, REGULUS always preſſes that point home, upon which he fixes; but then he is often wrong in his choice. Therefore my anſwer to him was, *You ſeize upon the throat, as you imagine; but perhaps at laſt it proves only the knee, the leg, or the ankle. Now I, who, to ſay truth, have not ſkill enough to come at the throat directly, aim at every place, try every part, and leave no ſtone unturned. I take the ſame method in pleading, as in agriculture. I not only cultivate my vines, but I take care of my trees; and not of them only, but of my fields: And as in thoſe fields I do not confine myſelf to ſow one particular ſort of finer wheat or corn, but every kind of pulſe and grain whatever; ſo in my ſpeeches, I croud in every argument, and ſtrew them as thick as I can, that I may be ſure to gather in ſome ſucceſsful crop; for ſeaſons are not more uncertain and clouded, nor ſoils more precarious, than the tempers and determinations of our judges.*

I cannot upon this occaſion avoid recollecting the encomium upon that finiſhed orator PERICLES, by EUPOLIS the comic poet:

Softeſt perſuaſion ſat upon his tongue,
And on his lips engaging ſweetneſs hung;
Yet with a ſtrength that fix'd upon the mind,
That forc'd its way, and left its ſting behind.

But this perſuaſive eloquence, and this engaging ſweetneſs of PERICLES himſelf, could never have triumphed thus, either by the brevity or velocity of it, (which are two very different things) or by the help of both together, without the greateſt abilities; for it is certain, that, when an audience is to be at once perſuaded and delighted, a copiouſneſs of matter, and a proper ſpace of time, are neceſſary to produce it. For the ſting, which ought to remain behind, not only requires a ſpeedy thruſt to make it enter, but a continued force, to ſink it deep into the minds of the hearers. To this may be added, what another comic poet [e] ſays of the ſame PERICLES,

He lighten'd, thunder'd, and confounded *Greece*.

Here you ſee his ſpeeches were not lopped ſhort, and maimed, but diffuſive, magnificent, and ſublime. He rolled his thunder, he darted his lightning: all things were in the utmoſt perturbation, and confuſion.

Is there not however in oratory a medium preferable to all extremes? Certainly. But this medium is no leſs tranſgreſſed by too much conciſeneſs, than by too much prolixity; by one, who takes too little compaſs, than by him, who takes too large a circle. From hence ariſes a frequent complaint, that one orator is immoderately redundant, another jejune and feeble. One is ſaid to overſhoot the point, another to fall ſhort of it. Both equally wrong: One from

[e] ARISTOPHANES.

too

too much weakneſs, the other from too great ſtrength; which laſt is an error on the beſt ſide, proceeding from a ſuperiority of genius, though too uncorrect and unbridled. But when I ſay this, do not imagine, that I approve of that ceaſeleſs bawler THERSITES in HOMER. No, I rather applaud the character of ULYSSES in the ſame poet:

> But when he ſpeaks, what elocution flows!
> Soft as the fleeces of deſcending ſnows [f].

Not indeed, but there is another character [g] in the ſame author, that I admire as much as poſſible:

> His words ſuccinct, yet full [h].

And yet were I to have my choice, I ſhould prefer that oration, which comes on us, like winter's ſnow, thick, continued, and in large quantities; in a word, which ſeems to deſcend from heaven, and to be poured down from the ſkies.

But, many people prefer the conciſe manner of pleading. I allow it; but who are they? Only ſuch, whoſe indolence leads them into that opinion. And would it not be ridiculous to admit their judgements as deciſive, whoſe nicety proceeds from downright lazineſs? If their advice muſt be taken, it is not only better to make ſhort ſpeeches, but to make none at all.

Theſe are my preſent ſentiments, which I ſhall readily alter, if you diſapprove them; but then give me the reaſons of your diſapprobation, becauſe at the ſame time that I owe an implicit obedience to your authority, yet, in an affair of this conſequence, I would chuſe to be convinced rather by argument,

[f] POPE's Homer, Il. 3. ℣. 283. [g] POPE's Homer, Il. 3. ℣. 277. [h] The character of MENELAUS.

than authority. If you think me not in an error, let me know it by a letter as ſhort as you pleaſe; however, give it under your hand, that I may ſee my own judgement confirmed by yours. If I am wrong, I inſiſt upon a long letter to convince me of my miſtake. Tell me, is it not a kind of bribe, to deſire you would give yourſelf but little trouble, if you agree with me; and a great deal, if you differ from me? Farewell.

OBSERVATIONS.

The epiſtle now under conſideration is the leaſt agreeable of any yet tranſlated. We ſee an oration before us, inſtead of a letter; an oration, which is in itſelf the ſtrongeſt argument againſt that prolixity, for which PLINY contends. He might have ſaid, in a much leſs compaſs, more than he has ſaid throughout the whole letter: and therefore REGULUS ſeems to be in the right, who chuſes to throttle a man all at once, rather than break his bones, joint by joint.

To make this epiſtle as profitable, and entertaining, as the ſubject will admit, let us take notice of ſome perſons and paſſages, not unworthy of obſervation.

Hic ille mecum auctoritatibus agit, ac mihi ex Græcis orationes LYSIÆ *oſtentat:* "Among the Grecian authorities, "which he produces, LYSIAS is always quoted by him." LYSIAS was the ſon of CEPHALUS; born at *Syracuſe*, but brought early out of *Sicily* by his father, and educated at *Athens*. He was one of the moſt conſiderable orators among the Greeks. QUINTILIAN gives him a character to this effect: "The ſtyle of LYSIAS is extremely elegant and "cloſe: if the perfection of an orator is to inſtruct, no "man exceeds him in that art: he goes directly to the "point, and never ſtrays from the purpoſe; and if we cannot compare him to a great river, at leaſt he may be "looked upon as a clear fountain."

We learn from TULLY, who goes beyond QUINTILIAN in his praiſes of LYSIAS, that he never appeared at the bar. The works he publiſhed were numerous, and various. He died old, poor, and under the ſentence of baniſhment; an unfortunate cataſtrophe for ſo great a man. His ruin was occaſioned by the jealouſy of the Athenians, who,

who, impatient of his ſuperior genius, drove him out of a colony eſtabliſhed by them at *Thurium* in *Italy*; a place he was particularly fond of, having been ſettled there from the age of fifteen years, and having purchaſed alſo in that colony an houſe, and an eſtate, with an intention to finiſh his life in the ſame place, where he had paſſed ſo great a part of it.

The examples in hiſtory of men, who fall a ſacrifice to their own abilities, and are ſunk down by their own weight, are as innumerable, as they are melancholy. If a ſhort conjecture is allowable on the ſeeming inequality of their fate, perhaps theſe puniſhments are ſent by Heaven merely to cruſh that vanity, and to ſcourge that ingratitude towards the Creator, which extraordinary endowments are too apt to inſpire. The heathens were of this opinion, as appears by the fables of ARACHNE, NIOBE, and others: and Chriſtians ought to remember, that *unto whomſoever much is given, of him ſhall be much required.* But to return to our epiſtle.

Vides ut ſtatuas, ſigna, picturas, hominum denique, multorumque animalium formas, arborum etiam, ſi modo ſint decoræ, nihil magis quam amplitudo commendet: idem orationibus evenit:

"It is in orations as in pictures, ſtatues, and other things "of that kind: the largeneſs of the ſize encreaſes the "value."

Quin etiam voluminibus ipſis auctoritatem quandam et pulchritudinem adjicit magnitudo:

"A large book looks better than a ſmall one;" or, in other words, "there is a much greater air of authority in "a folio, than in a duodecimo."

Theſe two aſſertions are very ſurprizing, in a perſon of our author's taſte, and can be excuſed by nothing but a partial fondneſs for his own opinion. In pictures and ſtatues, it is the ſymmetry, or proportion, that ſtrikes the eye, and pleaſes the underſtanding, whether the figures repreſented be of dwarfs, or giants. And ſo in books; it is the matter contained within, not the number of leaves, that ſtamps value, and gives reputation to the volume. PLINY's argument certainly has little weight in it, and deſerves no other anſwer, than what is contained in that old Greek epigram:

than authority. If you think me not in an error, let me know it by a letter as ſhort as you pleaſe; however, give it under your hand, that I may ſee my own judgement confirmed by yours. If I am wrong, I inſiſt upon a long letter to convince me of my miſtake. Tell me, is it not a kind of bribe, to deſire you would give yourſelf but little trouble, if you agree with me; and a great deal, if you differ from me? Farewell.

OBSERVATIONS.

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Εἰ τὸ τρέφειν πώγωνα δοκεῖ σοφίαν περιποιεῖν,
Καὶ τράγος εὐπώγων εὐσόλος ἐστὶ Πλάτων.

If length of beard deep knowledge muſt denote,
Yield, PLATO, yield, in wiſdom, to the goat.

Artificem quemnam? recte admones: POLYCLETUM *eſſe dicebant.* "Queſtions and anſwers, ſays LONGINUS [k], not "only enliven and add great ſtrength to a ſpeech, but "make it more plauſible, and give it an air of greater "probability; for the paſſions never work more ſtrongly "upon the auditors, than when the anſwers ſeem not to be "the effect of premeditation, but to riſe naturally from the "thing treated of. This appears very much in interroga-"tions, and reſponſes to thoſe interrogations; eſpecially, "where the quickneſs of the anſwer demanded, will not "admit of a ſtudied untruth." The ſentence quoted out of Tully is an inſtance of this kind of oratory. The queſtion aſked is purpoſely to raiſe the expectations of the audience, and to heighten the character of POLYCLETUS. This POLYCLETUS was a Grecian ſtatuary, born in *Sicyon*, a city of *Peloponneſus*. PLINY the elder mentions many famous ſtatues made by him, and particularly one, in which the proportions of the human body were ſo exactly adjuſted, that it was called *the maſter-piece*. He flouriſhed in the eighty ſeventh olympiad, above four hundred years before the Chriſtian æra.

Πάντα *denique* λίθον κινῶ: "I leave not a ſtone unturned." I am afraid the Greek ſentences, which are every now and then interſperſed, in imitation of TULLY, throughout theſe epiſtles, have occaſioned ſome of thoſe criticiſms upon our author, which accuſe him of affectation, and want of eaſe in his familiar letters. It is not to be denied, that this mixture of languages is totally inconſiſtent with that unſtudied ſimplicity, which ought to diſtinguiſh the epiſtolary ſtyle.

The life of PERICLES will be found in PLUTARCH; but, as his character is here quoted in ſome beautiful lines from EUPOLIS and ARISTOPHANES, let us recollect what HORACE ſays of thoſe comic poets:

[k] Longinus. Sect. 18.

EUPOLIS,

EUPOLIS, *atque* CRATINUS, ARISTOPHANES*que poetæ*,
Atque alii, quorum comœdia priſca virorum eſt,
Si quis erat dignus deſcribi, quòd malus, aut fur,
Quod mœchus foret, aut ſicarius, aut alioqui
Famoſus, multâ cum libertate notabant.

" When antient comedy became firſt known,
" The noted bards, who wore the laurel crown,
" With manly ſpirit, and becoming rage
" Dragg'd ev'ry villain on the public ſtage;
" There the throng'd audience each vile deed ſurvey'd,
" The pimp expos'd his perſon, and his trade:
" Each thief from ſatire's laſh ſtole ſenſe of ſhame,
" And each aſſaſſin wept his murder'd fame."

By theſe lines, and by thoſe which follow in this fourth ſatire of HORACE's firſt book, the poet obſerves, with great ſpirit and excellent raillery, how much greater liberties were taken, in the earlieſt ages, with the conduct and characters of bad men, than were allowed of in his days. As vice encreaſed, an abhorrence to hear truth encreaſed alſo. The wicked turn aſide from reproof, and the vain cannot bear it:

Omnes hi metuunt verſus, odere poetas:

" They dread the ſatire, and the poets hate."

A juſt ſatiriſt, as he will always be dreaded by knaves, will be cheriſhed and admired by honeſt men. Yet, the natural tendency of mankind to malice and detraction is ſuch, that every ſcribler endeavours to gain this character, by throwing filth and calumny on all around him: but ſatire, in the hands of a fool, bears no more reſemblance to the delicacy of that art, than the lightning of the playhouſe bears to the lightning in the ſkies: we ſee a faint flaſh, and we ſmell a diſagreeable ſtench, and then it vaniſhes without doing any execution: whereas true ſatire, like true lightning, wounds every object it aims at, melts the ſword, without injuring the ſcabbard, reaches the ſoul, but leaves the body untouched. The antient Greek comedies always abounded

bounded with this kind of poetry; and QUINTILIAN ſays, that, after the works of HOMER, which are beyond all degrees of compariſon with any other books whatever, the antient comic poets may be looked upon as the beſt models, by which an orator can form his ſtyle.

EPISTLE XXI.

PLINY *to* PLINIUS PATERNUS.

I Rely as much upon the delicacy of your eye, as upon your judgement; not becauſe you excel me in ſkill (do not flatter yourſelf,) but becauſe you equal me in it: and that, you will allow, is ſaying a great deal. However, jeſting aſide, I really think the ſlaves I bought, by your advice, are well-behaved and comely. All that remains to be tried now, is their fidelity, which in ſlaves is better diſcovered by the ears, than the eyes. Adieu.

OBSERVATIONS.

The ſlaves, which PLINY bought, were, in all probability, Aſiatics; for according to HORACE, *Cappadocia*, although deſtitute of money, abounded in ſlaves.

Mancipiis locuples eget æris Cappadocum *rex* [l]:

"The *Cappadocian* king is rich in ſlaves,
"But deſtitute of money."

And PERSIUS tells us, that thoſe ſlaves were plump and ſleek:

Ne ſit præſtantior alter
Cappadocas *rigidâ pingues plauſiſſe cataſta* [m]:

"How large a family of brawny knaves,
"Well-fed and fat as *Cappadocian* ſlaves [n]."

[l] Horat. Lib. 1. Epiſt. 6. ℣. 39.
[m] Perſius, Sat. 6. ℣. 76.
[n] DRYDEN's Perſius, Sat. 6. ver. 181.

Mr.

Mr. DRYDEN, in his note upon theſe lines, ſays, that the *Cappadocian* ſlaves were famous for being luſty, well favoured, and in good liking; their activity and ſtrength was remarkable, and they were looked upon as preferable to any other ſlaves in the world. The inhabitants of *Cappadocia* were not only born to ſlavery, but in love with it; and when the Romans offered to make them a free people, they refuſed the offer, and choſe to hug their chains, and live under the yoke of ſervitude, rather than enjoy the bleſſings of liberty.

How ſtrange! how incredible! how amazing! muſt this ſervility appear, in a country, whoſe characteriſtic is liberty!

With native freedom, as with courage bleſt,
Chains, and each mark of thraldom we deteſt.
'Tis heaven's high gift, 'tis nature's great decree,
That none be ſlaves, whom God himſelf made free.
Revere we ought thoſe powers, which we entruſt,
But to ourſelves be reſolutely juſt;
Scorn baſe corruption, nor like ſlaves diſown
The laws that fix'd our monarch in his throne:
For well we know by truth's eternal rules,
Where ſlaves are ſubjects, ſubjects muſt be fools.
Exert but reaſon, liberty will reign,
And tyranny exalt her impious head in vain.

EPISTLE XXII.

PLINY *to* CATILIUS SEVERUS.

I Have been kept a long time here in town, and in a very deſponding way, occaſioned by the tedious and ſtubborn illneſs of TITUS ARISTO, whom I particularly love and admire. His prudence, his virtue, and his learning are not to be exceeded; ſo that, in my opinion, it is not only one man, who is in danger, but all polite literature, and the whole circle of arts and ſciences. As he is equally well verſed in all

acts

acts of the legiſlature, both public and private; ſo is he a perfect maſter of hiſtory, and the great examples of antiquity. There is nothing you can wiſh to learn, which he is not able to teach. He is the treaſure, from whence I always draw my hidden riches. What ſincerity and authority attend his words! How proper and becoming are his delays! For, although he ſees through every thing in a moment, yet he is ever ſlow and cautious in his determinations, always doubting upon the reaſons urged on both ſides, which, with a moſt piercing judgement, he fails not to trace up to their original fountains, and then gives them their due weight in his deciſions. Add to this the temperance of his diet, and the decency of his dreſs. When I look into his chamber, and ſee the furniture there, I behold a picture of the antient frugality. The greatneſs of his mind gives an ornament to the whole, as none of his actions proceed from oſtentation, but all from purity of conſcience. He ſeeks his reward from the excellence of his conduct, not from the applauſe, which attends it. In ſhort, few of thoſe men, who in outward appearance ſeem philoſophers, can be compared to him: he does not indeed follow either the ſchools, or the porticos °; neither does he miſpend his own time, or the time of other perſons, in tedious diſputations. His hours are paſſed in buſineſs, or at the bar; he aſſiſts ſome by his pleadings, and more by his advice. But he is equal to the greateſt men whatever, in modeſty, religion, and juſtice, and principally in the fortitude of his mind. It would have ſurpriſed you, had you been here, to have ſeen with what reſolution he has born this illneſs, how he has reſiſted pain, how he has endured

° The Athenians kept their ſchools in porticos; ſo did the Romans: the philoſophers diſputed there. And it is from theſe covered galleries, that the Stoics derived their name, Στοὰ ſignifying in Greek a portico.

thirſt,

thirſt, and with what patience he has lain loaded with clothes, to carry off by perſpiration the cruel heat of a burning fever.

The other day he ſent for me and ſome of his ſelect friends, and deſired us to enquire of his phyſicians into the nature of his diſtemper, that if it was incurable, he might chuſe an immediate death; but if only ſtubborn and tedious, he might ſtand firm, and ſtruggle with it as he ought: for he thought it not allowable to fruſtrate the prayers of his wife, the tears of his daughter, and the hopes of his friends, if there were any grounds for thoſe hopes, by putting an end to his own life. A noble determination! but difficult to keep; for you may obſerve, that moſt men hurry with eagerneſs to their relief, which is only to be attained by death: but to weigh each motive with deliberation, and to conſider the reaſons for and againſt life, and to live or die according to the ſtrength of thoſe reaſons, are all inſtances of a great mind. The phyſicians promiſe us ſucceſs to our wiſhes: may God fulfil them, and deliver me from this ſcene of ſorrow. As ſoon as I am releaſed, I will fly to my *Laurentinum*, to my books, my papers, and my ſtudious retirement. At preſent, my attendance on my friend affords me no leiſure, and my anxiety about him no inclination for ſtudy. Thus have I ſent you all my fears, all my wiſhes, and all my intentions. In return, tell me how you have diſpoſed of yourſelf? what you are now doing? and what you will do? But I hope to hear from you in a more chearful ſtrain than mine. It will be no ſmall relief to my miſery, that you live free from all complaint. Farewell.

OBSERVATIONS.

The various accompliſhments of TITUS ARISTO, his great ſkill in the laws, his extenſive knowledge in antient hiſtory,

hiſtory, the firmneſs of his mind, the fortitude with which he looked at death, the ſimplicity of his morals, and the integrity of his heart, are ſo elegantly, and ſo pathetically deſcribed by PLINY, that to add one word to his character would ſhew little reliſh of this incomparable epiſtle. Nor is there any room for obſervations on a letter ſo perſpicuous, and ſo maſterly in itſelf, unleſs we take notice of the following paragraph.

Et medici quidem ſecunda nobis pollicentur: ſupereſt, ut promiſſis Deus adnuat: "The phyſicians promiſe his recovery; "God permit thoſe promiſes to be fulfilled."

The heathen theology is one of thoſe abſtruſe points of learning, left to be eſtabliſhed from the imperfect accounts we have of it in antient authors. It is undeniable, that the heathens in general did believe a multiplicity of gods: yet this particular ſentence in PLINY, and another in the twelfth epiſtle of this book, where he ſays, *affuit Deus voto*, (which is literally, "God granted his prayer,") appear to be ſtrong inſtances, that the moſt thinking heathens did believe one ſupreme independent Being, to whom all worſhip and ſupplication ought to be ultimately addreſſed: and though they reverenced that one independent Deity by the name of JUPITER, yet it is impoſſible they could imagine him guilty of thoſe ſtrange follies, and monſtrous vices, with which, in the courſe of their mythology, he is often taxed. HOMER and HERODOTUS have made him ſubject and inferior to fate. XENOPHON, ſays TULLY, makes SOCRATES ſometimes declare there was one God, and ſometimes that there were many. By theſe and innumerable other inſtances we are convinced, that the religion of the pagans was doubtful, unintelligible, incoherent, and irrational. Yet, it is evident from the ſentence already quoted, that PLINY, by a ſuperiority of judgement and reflexion, believed human ſkill and medicinal art to be in vain, without the aſſiſtance of heaven, and the bleſſing of Almighty God.

EPISTLE

EPISTLE XXIII.

PLINY *to* POMPEIUS FALCO.

YOU aſk me, whether I think you ought to plead as a lawyer, whilſt you are in the poſt of tribune. I ſhould firſt know, what your opinion of the tribuneſhip is? Whether you look upon it as a mere ſhadow, an empty title without honour; or whether you eſteem it an employment of power, and of a dignity ſo ſacred, that it ought not to be violated by any perſon whatever, leaſt of all by the perſon, who poſſeſſes it. Perhaps, I was in the wrong to think myſelf of any conſequence, whilſt I held that poſt; but, as I entertained that opinion, I would not be engaged as an advocate during the whole time of my tribuneſhip. Firſt, I thought it extremely diſhonourable, that I, to whom all people were to give place and to riſe, ſhould be obliged to ſtand, when every body about me ſate. Nor did it ſeem a leſs impropriety, that the ſame perſon, who had the power of impoſing ſilence upon whom he pleaſed, ſhould himſelf be obliged to ſilence as ſoon as the hour-glaſs was out; or that I, who was never to be interrupted as tribune, ſhould be forced as an advocate to hear reproaches thrown out againſt me, and be accuſed of want of ſpirit, if I ſuffered them, and of inſolence, if I took proper notice of them. Another reaſon, that wrought ſtrongly upon me, was this. If the client, whoſe cauſe I eſpouſed, or his adverſary, whom I oppoſed, happened to appeal to me in my tribunitial capacity; muſt I ſtop the one, and aſſiſt the other? Or ſhould I acquieſce, and be quite ſilent, and thus, as it were, reſign the magiſtracy, and ſink myſelf at once into a private perſon? Convinced by theſe ſeveral reaſons, I choſe rather

ther to be a tribune to all, than an advocate to ſome few.

But, I muſt repeat it, your own opinion of the office, and the light in which you view it, ought to be fully known. For a wiſe man will always make it ſuch, as he may be able to ſupport with dignity from the beginning to the end. Farewell.

OBSERVATIONS.

As PLINY's epiſtle to POMPEIUS FALCO treats entirely of the tribunitial authority, an account of the firſt creation of the tribunes may not be improper in this place.

From the beginning of the commonwealth ſo many imprudent ſteps had been taken by the ſenators, conſuls, and dictators, and the people had been ſo hardly oppreſſed on account of their debts, that ſcarce the leaſt appearance of honour, juſtice, or decency remained at *Rome*. The haughtineſs of the patricians was odious; the diſobedience of the plebeians dangerous: riches and pride were the characteriſtics of the former; poverty and rebellion of the latter: the authority of the ſenate was overthrown; the dignity of the conſuls trampled upon and deſtroyed. If a plebeian was proſecuted for debt, the populace came in crowds into court, and by clamours hindered the ſentence from being heard; and the decree, if pronounced, was not obeyed, nor attempted to be put into execution. Such heats could be only cooled by new laws, new foundations, and new magiſtrates.

The enemies of *Rome* never failed to exert themſelves, as ſoon as the animoſities and diviſions in the republic were known, and divulged abroad. During the preſent infatuation, which infectiouſly ſpread itſelf over the whole ſpecies of Roman people, hoſtilities were begun by the Æqui, the Sabines, and the Volſci: they plundered villages, ſeized territories, and committed various depredations. In this exigence, a *dictator* was the moſt ſalutary relief. MANIUS VALERIUS, a plebeian in his inclinations, and brother of PUBLICOLA [p], was choſen *dictator* [q]. The choice proceeded

[p] The law of PUBLICOLA had given the firſt taſte of power and impunity to the people.

[q] A. U. C. 259.

from

from neceſſity, and was in itſelf contrary to an eſtabliſhed law, which enacted, that no perſon, who had not been conſul, ſhould be appointed *dictator*. But laws were no longer remembered.

[a] VALERIUS convened the populace, and in a ſpeech delivered with an attractive modeſty declared, that neither their liberties, nor the *lex Valeria*, the chief ſupport of thoſe liberties, were in the leaſt hazard during his government. In the family of PUBLICOLA the rights of the people muſt be ever ſacred: he ſcorned to delude with promiſes, or to deceive with falſhoods; but the firſt ſtep to be taken was an immediate march againſt the enemy: however they might be confident, that at the end of the campaign they ſhould infallibly be relieved from their debts, and receive full ſatisfaction to their complaints. Theſe aſſurances he pronounced in his own name, and in the name of the ſenate.

Elate with the proſpect of future relief, and conſcious of the *dictator*'s friendſhip, the people willingly enliſted themſelves, and gained a conſummate victory over their three neighbouring adverſaries [b]. The ſenate apprehending, that the ſoldiers at their return might challenge the completion of thoſe promiſes, which they had received from the *dictator*, deſired VALERIUS, and the two conſuls, to detain their ſeveral legions, under pretence that the war was not finiſhed: the conſuls obeyed, but the *dictator* diſbanded his army, and declared his ſoldiers diſengaged from the oath taken at the time of enliſting. As his power was abſolute, and as he was warmly biaſſed in affection towards the people, he choſe four hundred of the plebeians, and placed them in the rank of Roman knights. But when he demanded of the ſenators a decree in favour of the debtors, and conſiſtent with the promiſe made by him, as from the ſenate, to aboliſh their debts, he met with oppoſition and reproach. APPIUS CLAUDIUS, ſupported by ſome of the

[a] The dictator choſe QUINTUS SERVILIUS as his general of the horſe: he was of the ſame ſentiments with VALERIUS, and thought the people too rigorouſly, and too unjuſtly oppreſſed. Thus the chief commanders were in the popular intereſt.

[b] Ten legions were raiſed. Each conſul commanded three: the *dictator* commanded the remaining four. The Sabines were conquered by the *dictator*: the Æqui and Volſci by the two conſuls, A. VIRGINIUS and T. VETURIUS.

younger ſenators, refuſed abſolutely to comply with his demand, and threatened to call him to an account for diſbanding his army, while the enemies of *Rome* were yet in arms.

Is it not ſurpriſing, that ſo unlimited a magiſtrate as a *dictator* ſhould meet with threats, oppoſition, and reproaches? His power was not only independent, but ſuperior to any other power, derivative from *Rome*. May we not ſuſpect, that when the army was diſbanded, the fear of a *dictator* ceaſed? His ſoldiers, while in arms, ſecured his dignity: but the nature of his office approached too near a regal inſtitution, to be reliſhed, or reſpected in a commonwealth.

VALERIUS, ſurpriſed at ſo violent and ſo unprecedented a repulſe, made a ſpeech in the ſenate-houſe to this effect. "The accuſations againſt me of an ambitious popularity "ſhew how unfortunate I am in not being agreeable to "this aſſembly. May the Gods grant to all future defen-"ders of the Roman people a moderation equal to my own! "I will not deceive my fellow citizens: they depended on "my promiſes: they took up arms, and triumphed over "your enemies, at the peril of their lives. A foreign war, "and domeſtic feuds, occaſioned to me the honour of the "*dictatorſhip*. We have now peace abroad: I have tried in "vain to eſtabliſh it at home: I am determined therefore "to abdicate my dignity; chuſing rather to behold ſedition "as a private man, than as a *dictator*."

VALERIUS, at the concluſion of this ſhort ſpeech, left the ſenate, and convening an aſſembly of the people, appeared before them with all the enſigns of a *dictator*. His ſpeech was of the ſame purport to the populace, as it had been to the ſenators, with ſome additions complaining of his age, whereby he was rendered incapable of proper reſentment; and for that reaſon he freely reſigned an employment, in which he could be, at his time of life, of no ſervice to his friends and followers. The people heard him with the utmoſt reſpect and veneration: they conducted him home, and their applauſes were as loud, as if he had exerted his authority, and had aboliſhed their debts. Their clamours of applauſe ſhewed their indignation againſt the ſenate: their indignation ſcorned to be confined: they aſſembled publicly, and, in their rage, formed a conſpiracy to murder the conſuls; but this meaſure was diſapproved, and another leſs ſanguinary method was put into execution. The ſoldiers ſnatched up their enſigns, and by the advice of SICINNIUS

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BELLUTUS, one of the chief leaders in the rebellion, they all retired to the farther ſide of the river *Anio*, fortifying themſelves upon a [c] hill, which is ſince called *mons ſacer*.

This deſertion occaſioned the utmoſt ſurpriſe and uneaſineſs in the ſenate. Guards were placed not only for ſecurity of the city, but to prevent any citizens from paſſing over to the revolters. The precaution proved fruitleſs; many eſcaped, and the number of mutineers continually encreaſed. A deputation was appointed from the ſenate to offer a general pardon, and to exhort the deſerters to return. The deputies were ſent back with contempt. In conſequence of theſe indignities, new conteſts aroſe in the ſenate: APPIUS CLAUDIUS talked boldly of oppoſition, puniſhment, and revenge. VALERIUS adviſed more lenient counſels; and propoſed terms, that might immediately conduce to peace. The youngeſt ſenators were on the ſide of APPIUS: they were particularly turbulent upon this occaſion. They intimated ſuſpicions of the conſuls, to whom they declared, that if any inſults were offered to the patricians, they would take arms in defence of an order and rank, which they had received from their anceſtors. The conſuls, to reduce theſe young patricians, whoſe clamours were growing too intolerable, threatened to deprive them of their right of ſuffrage, by fixing the age neceſſary to qualify a Roman to be a ſenator. The menace had the intended ſucceſs: the ſenators began freſh negotiations, and ſent freſh embaſſies with more extenſive offers to the rebels. After a variety of propoſals, and demands, all treaties at length appeared to be conſummated by a conſent from the ſenate to a total abolition of the plebeian debts: and now the revolters were preparing to return with ſatisfaction to *Rome*, when LUCIUS JUNIUS BRUTUS [d] declared publicly his apprehenſions, that the ſenators intended at a proper opportunity to revoke the preſent act of juſtice, although they now ſeemingly acquieſced in that agreement. He affected great fears from this ſurmiſe, which had ariſen in his own breaſt. He expreſſed great diffidence of ſenatorial equity, and ſeemed to fore-

[c] This hill is diſtant three miles from *Rome*, in the place where *Caſtello di San Silveſtri* ſtands at preſent.

[d] LUCIUS JUNIUS BRUTUS was a plebeian; a man of great ambition, particularly ſkilful in fomenting diſcord. He aſſumed the name of BRUTUS, in a vain emulation of equalling the firſt patrician of that name.

ſee many dangers to the ſtate, and many infringements upon the liberties of the people, unleſs ſome eſſential ties were eſtabliſhed, that might infallibly preſerve, and perpetuate their rights againſt the oppreſſions, and tyranny of the conſuls and ſenate. To theſe artful inſinuations MENENIUS AGRIPPA candidly anſwered, "that the conſtitution of the "republic was of ſuch a nature, as muſt ſecure the ratifica-"tion of any decree paſſed by unanimous conſent. But if "ſuch a ſecurity was thought inſufficient, he deſired to "know, what other expedient could be propoſed, that "might diſſipate all anxiety ariſing from ſuſpicion, and "might firmly eſtabliſh unanimity and friendſhip throughout "every rank, and degree of the Roman people?" "Grant "us," ſaid BRUTUS, with a ſecret pleaſure to find the immediate ſucceſs of his own ſubtilty, "particular officers to "be choſen out of our own order. Far be it from us to "demand any pompous enſigns of magiſtracy. Pageants "may appertain to patricians; but let a certain number of "plebeians be elected every year, who may have authority "to ſupport our intereſts, and to defend us from injuſtice. "The propoſal is too equitable to be refuſed, if your real "intentions of peace are as ſincere as your outward pro-"feſſions."

This propoſal, although it ſeemed the inſtantaneous anſwer to the ſpeech of AGRIPPA, was certainly the effect of ſtratagem, and foreſight. The people received it with the utmoſt joy and acclamation, the deputies from the ſenate with equal reluctance and ſurprize. They returned to *Rome*[*], where the majority of the ſenators, actuated by fear and aſtoniſhment, and weary of perpetual diviſions, conſented to the demand; and at once diveſted themſelves of all future authority. A *ſenatus conſultum* was immediately paſſed, to appoint the creation of theſe new magiſtrates, who were called the *tribunes of the people*.

The decree of the ſenate having acquieſced to the tribuneſhip of the people, and to the total abolition of their debts, the olive branch of peace was carried by VALERIUS, and other deputed ſenators, to the camp upon the ſacred moun-

[*] VALERIUS, at his return from the ſacred mountain, made a ſpeech in the ſenate ſtrongly in favour of the revolters, whoſe military merit, he ſaid, in the wars abroad was ſuch, as ought to ſecure them not only from puniſhment, but entitle them to rewards and power at home.

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tain. The new magiſtrates, two in number, were elected. Their perſons were declared ſacred: a law was enacted to puniſh with death any violence offered to a tribune. The Romans were obliged to ſwear a ſtrict adherence to this law, not only in their own names, but in the names of their poſterity: An abſurd oath, attempting to bind a generation yet unborn. Not any of the hiſtorians mention, by what authority this law was eſtabliſhed. The conſuls, and major part of the ſenate, were ſtill in *Rome*; but we may preſume, the revolters, who had now the power of making new magiſtrates, found no oppoſition in making new laws. When theſe ſtatutes were fully ratified, the tribunes, the deputies, and the revolters quitted the ſacred mountain, and returned to *Rome*.

This was the greateſt revolution, which *Rome* received, ſince the firſt formation of her government. The tribunes were magiſtrates ſuperior to the conſuls, as they were declared *ſacroſancti* by the laws. Nothing relative to the people could be tranſacted, or at leaſt fully confirmed without their conſent: they ſignified their approbation, by putting the letter T under any order, that was agreeable to their will; as, on the other hand, they ſignified their prohibition, by ſtanding up in the ſenate-houſe, and pronouncing the word *veto*, without being obliged to give any reaſon for their diſſent.

After having dwelt, too long perhaps, upon the original inſtitution of the tribunal authority, let us preſs forward, as faſt as poſſible, to the diminution of their power under the emperors.

SUETONIUS tells us, that JULIUS CÆSAR was ſo jealous of PONTIUS AQUILA, one of the tribunes of the people, who refuſed to riſe to him, as he paſſed, in the full glory of a triumph, by the place where the tribunes ſate, that he cried out with great emotion, [f] *Repete ergo a me*, AQUILA, *rempublicam tribunus*: "Come AQUILA, come, thou mighty "tribune, and take the commonwealth out of my hands." The ſame author adds immediately after, *Nec deſtiterit per continuos dies quidquam cuiquam niſi ſub exceptione polliceri, ſi tamen per* PONTIUM AQUILAM *licuerit*: "And during "many days after, he made no promiſes, but with this re- "ſerve annexed to them, if PONTIUS AQUILA would give

[f] Suet. Jul. Cæſar. cap. 78.

"him leave:" an anſwer, that ſhewed at what he aimed. CÆSAR could not bear any limitation of his authority, and therefore with great art endeavoured to convince the people, that his dictatorial power was not compleat, till the tribunitial power was deſtroyed; and that even his promiſes could not be depended upon, becauſe ſubject to the *Veto* of PONTIUS AQUILA.

AUGUSTUS, the child of fortune, lived to perfect what JULIUS had only deſigned. The words of TACITUS on this head are theſe. [g] *Poſtquam* BRUTO *et* CASSIO *cæſis nulla jam publica arma*; POMPEIUS *apud Siciliam oppreſſus*; *exutoque* LEPIDO, *interfecto* ANTONIO, *ne Julianis quidem partibus niſi* CÆSAR *dux reliquus*; *poſito triumviri nomine conſulem ſe ferens, et ad tuendam plebem tribunitio jure contentum:* "When, upon the death of BRUTUS and CASSIUS, "the civil wars were at an end; young POMPEY was overthrown in *Sicily*; LEPIDUS was deprived of all power; "ANTONY had fallen by his own ſword; and of all the "Julian party not one was left but their chief, OCTAVIUS "CÆSAR; he, by laying aſide the title of triumvir, obtained that of conſul, and profeſſed himſelf deſirous of "the tribunitial power, merely to defend and protect the "people." The uſe, which he made of that power, is perfectly well known: and becauſe the tribunes ought always to be elected out of plebeian families, AUGUSTUS, and the ſucceeding emperors, were not ſtrictly tribunes, but *tribunitiâ poteſtate induti*. The name and ſhadow of the tribuneſhip remained; the ſubſtance and authority were taken away.

[g] Tacit. Annal. lib. I. cap. ii.

EPISTLE

EPISTLE XXIV.

PLINY *to* BEBIUS HISPANUS.

MY neighbour TRANQUILLUS has a mind to buy a ſmall piece of land, which a friend of yours, as they tell me, is willing to ſell. I muſt entreat you to take care, that the terms be equal on both ſides; for at that rate only can the purchaſe be agreeable. A bad bargain vexes a man, chiefly becauſe it ſeems a ſtrong inſtance of his folly. In this little piece of ground there are ſeveral things (if the price is not too high) peculiarly adapted to the inclination of my friend TRANQUILLUS. The ſmall diſtance from the city, the goodneſs of the road, the ſize of the houſe, and the quantity of land about it, which will prove rather a farm of retreat, than of employment: for, as TRANQUILLUS is a ſtudious man, he ſhould only have ground enough to exerciſe his fancy, and delight his eyes: A private walk, where he can ſaunter at his eaſe, from one end to the other, and trample out a path, in which he may view every branch of his vines, and number every ſhrub in his garden. I have told you all theſe particulars, that you may know how much he will be obliged to me, and how much I ſhall think myſelf ſo to you, if TRANQUILLUS makes this little purchaſe (attended with ſo many lucky circumſtances) upon ſuch conditions, as will leave him no room to repent of it. Adieu.

OBSERVATIONS.

Here are two great beauties in this epiſtle: the particular care, which PLINY takes, that his friend SUETONIUS ſhall not be impoſed upon in the purchaſe of an eſtate; and the agreeable deſcription he gives of a philoſopher's garden. The obſervation of our author, that a man is more uneaſy

at the diſreputation he ſuffers, by being over-reached in a bargain, than by the loſs he ſuſtains, is extremely juſt. We can live without glory, but we cannot ſubmit to ſhame: Thoſe, who are really wiſe, would have no inſtance of their conduct appear to the contrary; and thoſe, who are not ſo, try all methods to appear wiſer than they are: and yet it is very certain, there are no people ſo eaſily led into diſadvantageous contracts, as men of a ſtudious and ſpeculative diſpoſition, who paſs more time with their books, than with their friends, who converſe more with the dead, than with the living, and who abſtract themſelves from the commerce of the world, and from thoſe buſy ſcenes of life, which prepare us againſt the various artifices of mankind: ſuch men are fitter for the golden, than for the iron age.

The End of the FIRST BOOK.





PLINY's EPISTLES.

BOOK II.

EPISTLE I.

PLINY *to* VOCONIUS ROMANUS.

MANY years have paſſed ſince ſo noble, or ſo memorable a ſpectacle has been exhibited to the eyes of the Roman people, as the public funeral of VERGINIUS RUFUS, a citizen great an eminent in his character, and equally happy in his fortune. He lived thirty years after having arrived at the height of glory. He read poems compoſed in his honour: he read hiſtories compiled of his actions; he lived on, and enjoyed the praiſes of poſterity. He paſſed through his third conſulſhip, as if the man, who had refuſed the empire, was deſtined to riſe as high as any other ſtation would admit.

Thoſe

Thoſe emperors, by whom he was ſuſpected, and to whom his virtues were odious, he outlived: but left behind him the beſt of princes, and the kindeſt of friends; reſerved, as it were by fate, for this honour of a public funeral. He lived beyond his eighty third year, in the higheſt tranquillity of mind, and in equal veneration. He always enjoyed a perfect ſtate of health, except that his hands trembled, but without giving him the leaſt pain; the approach of death was indeed a little ſevere and tedious, but even that laſt ſcene added to his character.

The manner of it was this. He was deſigned, a fourth time, to the conſulſhip by TRAJAN: and the day, on which he waited upon the emperor, to return him thanks for that office, and was juſt beginning his ſpeech, a book, which he held in his hand, being too heavy for a man of his years, made weaker too by ſtanding up, dropt from him, merely by its own weight: as he ſtooped to take it up, the pavement being ſmooth and ſlippery, he loſt his footing, and by the fall broke his thigh: the bone was ill ſet; and that, added to the diſadvantage of his great age, hindered it from ever knitting, or being united again.

The obſequies of ſuch a man have done great honour to the emperor, to the age, to the forum, and to the bar. CORNELIUS TACITUS, the conſul, pronounced his funeral oration: ſo eloquent an orator, appointed upon ſuch an occaſion, ſeemed to crown the ſummit of all his happineſs. And he departed full of years, and full of honours, even of thoſe honours, which he had refuſed. But as to us, who ſurvive, we muſt lament, we muſt wiſh for him, as an example of the primitive age; and he is to be regretted by me in particular, who loved him, as much as I admired him, not only upon the public account, but upon my own; becauſe, we were born in the ſame country, our native towns were near each other, and our eſtates were contiguous. Beſides, he was

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left me as a guardian, and he loved me as a father; and from that tenderneſs, he favoured me with his vote, whenever I ſtood candidate for any employment, and haſtened from his retirement to aſſiſt me, long after he had refuſed to attend upon the like occaſions. Thus, on the day when the prieſts uſually named thoſe, whom they judged moſt worthy of the prieſthood, he always nominated me.

In his laſt illneſs, when he was apprehenſive, that he might probably be appointed one of the *quinqueviri*, who were conſtituted by an order of ſenate to retrench the public expences, he choſe me out to make his excuſes, and preferred me at my preſent age, before ſeveral of his friends, men of years, and even of conſular dignity: and his choice was attended with this obliging expreſſion: "Although I had "a ſon, I would trouble you with this commiſſion."

Theſe are the reaſons, why I pour out my whole torrent of tears into your boſom: theſe are the reaſons, why I look upon his death as immature. Although, in my opinion, we ought neither to weep the death of ſuch a man, nor to call it death, ſince it is rather an end of his mortality, than of his life. He lives, and will live to all eternity, he is ſnatched from our ſight, but the impreſſion of him will be the ſtronger in our memory, and his praiſes more frequent in our converſations.

I intended to have written to you upon many other ſubjects, but my whole ſoul is fixed upon this ſingle contemplation. VERGINIUS is ever in my thoughts, VERGINIUS is ever before my eyes, I embrace VERGINIUS, I ſpeak to him, I hear him; vain ideas! ever returning to my mind. We have, and ſhall have, many citizens equal to him in virtue, none in glory. Farewell.

OBSER-

OBSERVATIONS.

Funeral obſequies never appear with more melancholy pomp, than when they are the laſt tribute paid by the public, to ſome eminent citizen, or ſome diſtinguiſhed patriot. In ſuch a loſs a limb of the commonwealth is torn off, the whole body feels the wound, and every ſingle member is more or leſs affected. Such a loſs was VERGINIUS RUFUS; whoſe character ſeems, in certain particulars, to reſemble that of MONK, *duke of Albemarle*. They were both generals in very tempeſtuous ſeaſons. They had powerful forces at command, and they had great perſonal influence over their ſoldiers. Each might have raiſed himſelf by his military power to the throne. The diſtraction of the times threw uncommon temptations in their way. Crowns and ſcepters were within their reach; and they found themſelves employed by the leading men in power, rather out of fear, than out of friendſhip; rather from neceſſity, than choice: yet ſuch was the ſteadineſs of the Roman, and ſuch the integrity of the Briton, that the one ſubmitted to ſee GALBA proclaimed emperor, the other brought CHARLES the ſecond to *Whitehall*. To continue the parallel, they were both men of a reſerved nature, ſlow and cautious in the declaration of their purpoſes, but firm and reſolute in the execution of their deſigns: they both died full of honours and full of years, and both were buried at the public charge.

The rites of ſepulture were a moſt ſacred, and eſſential part of the religion, ſubſiſting among the heathens; and it muſt be allowed, that the inſtitution of burying perſons of remarkable virtue, and exalted merit, in the moſt public manner, and at the expence of the ſtate, had in it ſomething extremely noble, and highly becoming a brave people. The Romans never failed to perform theſe ceremonies; of which there cannot be a ſtronger inſtance than in the caſe of JULIA [a], a lady of great accompliſhments, the wife of POMPEY, and the daughter of JULIUS CÆSAR. She died in child-bed, and POMPEY had given orders for her interment at *Alba*, amongſt his anceſtors: but the Roman people put a ſtop to his deſign, they ſeized the corps, and interred her with the higheſt honours, and the utmoſt mag-

[a] See PLUTARH's Life of POMPEY.

nificence

nificence in the *field of* MARS. From the immature death of this excellent young lady, may be dated the miſerable effects of the civil war: during the time ſhe lived, by her dutiful behaviour to her father, and by her endearing affection to her huſband, ſhe kept up, and cemented an union betwixt CÆSAR and POMPEY, the breach of which proved afterwards fatal to themſelves, but much more deſtructive to *Rome*.

There is one particular in this epiſtle, that adds great luſtre to the character of VERGINIUS, *Uſus eſt firma valetudine; aditus tamen mortis durior longiorque, ſed hic ipſe laudabilis:* "He had enjoyed, during his whole life-time, an uninterrupted "ſtate of vigorous health, but the manner of his death was "both painful and tedious. Upon this occaſion he diſco-"vered ſo much conſtancy and reſolution, that he drew "upon himſelf the admiration and praiſe of all, who ſaw "ſo melancholy an inſtance of his fortitude. Peeviſhneſs, and impatience, are too often concomitant to old age: we are then upon the borders of another world, and all pleaſures and expectations in this life are over. Amuſements, and the gay trifles of deſire ceaſe to charm: the fires of love are extinguiſhed: ambition is no more: the ſpirits are decayed, the ſtrength fails; and alas! what remains, is but labour and ſorrow. Theſe are the hard conditions, upon which we generally purchaſe the conſummation of fourſcore years. VERGINIUS, whom PLINY, throughout this epiſtle, deſcribes as a man born under a very fortunate conſtellation, had eſcaped the miſeries of age, and was enjoying the bleſſings of a gradual eaſy decay: but in the accident, that gave occaſion to his death, an accident, which happened to him juſt as he received a freſh accumulation of honours, he was deſtined to undergo inexpreſſible torment. Here came on his hours of trial; when he was obliged to ſummon up all his philoſophy, and to fortify himſelf with the armour of patience and reſignation; which he did, and thereby acquired as much praiſe, as in any other part of his glorious life: ſo that upon the whole, we have, in the epiſtle before us, one of the moſt finiſhed characters to be found among the ancients, a great and a good old man, who, by a rare felicity,

Lenior et melior fuit accedente ſenectâ [b].

Whoſe age but ſoften'd the rough parts away;
As winter-fruits grow mild, when they decay [c].

The latter part of this epiſtle carries in it ſentiments of a moſt noble, tender, and virtuous diſpoſition; and the letter itſelf redounds more to the honour of PLINY, than of VERGINIUS. *Neceſſe eſt tanquam immaturam mortem ejus in ſinu tuo defleam: ſi tamen fas eſt aut flere, aut omnino mortem vocare, quâ tanti viri mortalitas magis finita quam vita eſt:* "Though RUFUS, ſays our author, had paſſed his eighty "third year, yet I muſt look upon his death as untimely, "and I weep for him; your boſom muſt receive my tears, "as for a friend, whom I have known too little, and whom "I have loſt too ſoon: *he ſhould have died hereafter:* yet, I "ought not to ſay he is dead; ſuch a man can never die: "he only breaks looſe from life, and ruſhes into immor-"tality."

It would be needleſs to offer the leaſt comment upon the ſentences, which follow thoſe already quoted, and which cloſe this epiſtle. VERGINIUM *video!* VERGINIUM *cogito!* &c. The beſt and moſt laſting paraphraſe will immediately ariſe in the reader's own breaſt: for who has not loſt a friend? and what country has not loſt a patriot?

[b] Vide HORAT. [c] POPE.

EPISTLE II.

PLINY *to* VALERIUS PAULLINUS.

I Am angry, I am not certain, whether I have reaſon for my anger, but I am angry. Love, you know, is ſometimes unreaſonable, often ungovernable, always jealous. The foundation of my anger is great: I know not if it be juſt; but, I believe it no leſs juſt, than great. I am extremely incenſed, that I have received no letter from you, in ſo long a time: you have one way only to appeaſe me; write often,

often, and let your letters be long: this is the ſingle excuſe I ſhall admit as real; all others will appear to me frivolous. I will not hear the common evaſions; "I was not at *Rome*, or I have had ſo much bu-"ſineſs:" Only the Gods forbid you ſhould ſay, "I have not been well." I am, at my villa, ſometimes very ſtudious, ſometimes very idle: leiſure is the ſource of both. Adieu.

OBSERVATIONS.

What TERENCE ſays of love, may be applied to friendſhip; eſpecially as the latter, certain ſenſual appetites excepted, is the ſame paſſion as the former, and acts in the ſame manner upon the mind. *In amore hæc omnia inſunt vitia:* [d] *injuriæ, ſuſpiciones, inimicitiæ, induciæ, bellum, pax rurſus:* "in love are all theſe exceſſes united: provocations, "ſuſpicions, reſentments, returns of affection; now war, "then peace." And accordingly, PLINY begins his letter with all the ſeeming anger of diſappointed friendſhip; doubts and diſtruſt uſher in the firſt part, and flaſhes of reſentment ſucceed them. He denounces war againſt PAULLINUS; and reſolves to accept of no terms of accommodation, unleſs paſt neglects are repaired by a future punctual correſpondence. Long and conſtant muſt be the letters, that are to purchaſe the leaſt hopes of reconcilement. But when, upon recollection, our tender-hearted author begins to imagine, that poſſibly his friend may have been indiſpoſed, he melts at once, and all is peace again. *Illud enim nec Dii ſinant, ut,* INFIRMIOR. "The Gods forbid, that "illneſs ſhould have hindered me from the happineſs of "hearing from you: I can bear any other excuſe: let my "friend enjoy his health, and I will complain no more." Here, we ſee the flux and reflux of affection; the ebbings and flowings of ſocial love; which appear like a calm evening tide, that ſeems to depart ſlowly and unwillingly from the ſhore, but returns again with double force, and all the impetuoſity of a ſwelling ſea.

Friendſhip is of ſo delicate and ſo nice a texture, ſo defenceleſs againſt evil impreſſions, and ſo apt to wither at the leaſt blaſt of jealouſy, that we may ſay with HORACE,

[d] Ter. Eunuch. Act. 1. Scen. 1.

Felices

Felices ter, et amplius,
Quos irrupta tenet copula; nec malis
Divulsus querimoniis,
Supremâ citius solvet amor die [e].

"Happy, thrice happy they, whose friendships prove
"One constant scene of unmolested love;
"Whose hearts right temper'd feel no various turns;
"No coolness chills them, and no madness burns.
"But, free from anger, doubts, and jealous fear,
"Die as they liv'd, united and sincere."

The love betwixt friends is certainly most harmonious, when wound up to the highest pitch; but, at that very time, is in greatest danger of breaking: and upon the whole, the strongest friendships may be compared to the strongest towns, which are too well fortified to be taken by open attacks, but are always liable to be undermined by treachery, or surprise.

PAULLINUS, to whom this epistle is addressed, was the particular friend of VESPASIAN, and from that motive, became one of the chief instruments in divesting VITELLIUS of the imperial dignity, and in conferring the empire upon VESPASIAN. His friendship also to PLINY must have been remarkable, since, at his death, he bequeathed by will, all his freedmen to our author; well knowing the happiness they were certain to enjoy, under such a master [f].

[e] Hor. Ode 13. Lib. 1. [f] See Book 10. Ep. 113.

EPISTLE III.

PLINY *to* NEPOS.

THE fame of ISÆUS was great, before he appeared among us; and yet, by his presence, he has surpassed all expectation. His faculties, his powers, and his wit, are inexhaustible; his speeches are unpremeditated, and yet appear as correct, as if they had been long composed: his style is Grecian, true Attic:

Attic: his introductions are neat, elegant, and engaging; ſometimes weighty and ſublime: he exhibits many themes for controverſy, and permits his audience to chooſe the theme, upon which he ſhall ſpeak; nay, often leaves to his audience, which ſide of the controverſy he ſhall maintain. He riſes, he adjuſts his veſtments, he begins with as much fluency, as if all ſubjects were prepared to his hands: his ſenſe is ſound and deep, and his expreſſions occur with eaſe, expreſſions exquiſitely polite. His moſt ſudden diſcourſes ſhew, that he has employed much time in reading and writing. He opens his ſpeeches with great addreſs; his narrations are clear, his diſputations ſharp, his concluſions ſtrong, and the ornamental part extremely high finiſhed: in a word, he inſtructs, he delights, and he conquers; and, which you can ſcarce bring yourſelf to believe, as his reaſonings and reflexions are very juſt, ſo he frequently mixes ſyllogiſtical arguments in his diſcourſe, all cloſe and to the purpoſe; which it is difficult to do, even in compoſition. His memory is ſo incredible, that he can repeat over again his extemporary orations without miſſing a word: To ſuch a habit has he attained by ſtudy and practice; for he exerciſes himſelf in this manner, without giving the leaſt attention to any thing elſe, night and day. He is turned of ſixty, and is ſtill but a rhetorician in the ſchools. It is in that ſpecies of men we find a ſimplicity, a ſincerity, and a goodneſs, no where to be exceeded: for we, who are verſed in the *forum*, and in real cauſes, contract a certain habitual rancour, even againſt our will: but in the ſchools and halls of rhetoric, as the cauſe is always feigned, ſo the conduct of it is harmleſs and free from malice; a very fortunate circumſtance, particularly to old men. For what can be a greater happineſs to age, than to enjoy the unmoleſted freedom of youth? For theſe reaſons I look upon Isæus not only as the moſt eloquent, but the

moſt happy man in the world. And, if you are not impatient to be known to him, you are made either of iron or ſtone. If therefore you have no other call, if you are not inclined to come to ſee me, at leaſt come to hear ISÆUS. Have you never read, that a citizen of *Gades*, fired with the name and high character of LIVY, came from the fartheſt confines of the globe to ſee him, and having ſeen him, immediately returned back again ſatisfied? It would betray a want of taſte, and learning; it would be an unpardonable lazineſs, nay, almoſt an irreparable diſgrace, not to covet the acquaintance of ſo great a man; an acquaintance, that muſt be at once agreeable, honourable, and inſtructive. You will anſwer; "I have here with me authors not in the leaſt infe-"rior to him in learning, and thoſe I read." True: But the opportunity of reading is always in your power; the opportunity of hearing is not. Beſides, according to the proverb; "What the ear hears, "ſtands in no need to be gueſſed at." And, ſuppoſe what you read in itſelf more affecting, yet certainly the pronunciation, the countenance, the dreſs, the geſture of an orator, imprint his leſſons more deeply upon the mind: unleſs we are of opinion, that what ÆSCHINES told the Rhodians, when he read to them the oration of DEMOSTHENES, was falſe. The Rhodians charmed with the oration, gave the higheſt ſigns of applauſe; upon which it is reported, that the Athenian cried out, "What "would you have ſaid, had you heard that furious "beaſt roar out his own words!" And ÆSCHINES, if we may believe DEMOSTHENES, was an orator moſt powerful in his elocution. Yet, he allowed the ſame things to have been much better pronounced by him, who had conceived them. To what purpoſe have I writ this letter? To perſuade you to attend ISÆUS, or at leaſt to hear him once, that you may have it in your power to ſay you have heard him. Farewell.

OB-

OBSERVATIONS.

The arts of rhetoric were the firſt ſteps to eloquence. They were the foils with which young orators began, and by which they learned to manage ſharper weapons, and to gain victories in the *forum* and at the bar. "Rhetoric, ſays Lord BACON, "is ſubſervient to the imagination, as logic "is to the underſtanding." Or, to quote the words of another author, "Rhetoric and oratory differ, as the theory "from the practice; the rhetorician teaches the rules of "eloquence, the orator uſes them to advantage." Notwithſtanding theſe definitions, the two terms are promiſcuouſly applied. But ISÆUS, who is now before us, never appeared at the bar; he taught in the ſchools, and exerciſed his eloquence there only. No motives could induce him to plunge himſelf into the iniquitous practices of the *forum*, where juſtice and reaſon were often trampled upon by tyranny and power; and where the laws of the public were forced to give way to the ſpleen and reſentment of particular men: *Quare ego* ISÆUM *non diſertiſſimum tantum, verum etiam beatiſſimum judico:* "And therefore, ſays PLINY, I do not "look upon ISÆUS as the wiſeſt, but as the happieſt man I "know." Our author a little before remarks, *Nos, qui in foro veriſque litibus terimur, multum malitiæ, quamvis nolimus, addiſcimus:* "It is impoſſible for us lawyers, to preſerve "ourſelves entirely free from biaſs and prepoſſeſſion: "our diſputes are in earneſt, and we are carried greater "lengths by our paſſions, than we ought to go: whereas, "the rhetoricians ſpeak only in cauſes, which are feigned "and imaginary; and conſequently create no enemies, be-"cauſe they do no wrong: and I have obſerved, that "they are men of great evenneſs of temper, great ſincerity, "and great uprightneſs. Their ſouls are clear from the "burdens, with which our conſciences are perpetually op-"preſſed."

Though PLINY ſpeaks to this purpoſe, and allows room for this paraphraſe; yet we may be ſure he was guilty of no cruel, no unjuſt, no baſe action whatſoever. As he was a lawyer, he joins himſelf with his brethren, and writes in the plural number.

Quæ omnia hæc tendunt; ut audias ISÆUM: *vel ideo tantum, ut audieris.* This laſt ſentence in the epiſtle will admit of a different interpretation, from that which is already inſerted: "My letter, ſays PLINY, tends to two purpoſes; "either to induce you to hear ISÆUS at *Rome*; or, at "leaſt, to make you ſo perfectly acquainted with his per- "ſon, and manner of elocution, that you may ſeem to have "heard him."

EPISTLE IV.

PLINY *to* CALVINA.

HAD your father died in debt to many people, or had owed to any one perſon ſo much as to me; it would have been a doubt, perhaps, whether you ought in prudence to have undertaken the execution of his will; an act, that might have drawn even a man into difficulties. But when I, led by the conſideration of our affinity, had paid off all the reſt, who were more importunate, I will not ſay more troubleſome, and remained the only creditor, and had contributed a hundred thouſand ſeſterces [e] towards your marriage portion, beſides that ſum, which, as your father expreſſed himſelf, was in a manner to be paid out of my effects, for indeed it was to be raiſed from what was due to me, you had a ſtrong proof of my eaſy diſpoſition, and ſhould have relied on it ſo far, as to have defended the reputation and honour of your deceaſed parent: and, that I may not exhort you to ſuch an action more by words than by deeds, I acquit you, from this moment, of whatever was due to me from your father. Be not in the leaſt apprehenſive, that ſuch a preſent will fall too heavy upon me: it is true, my income is moderate, and yet my dignities are expenſive; and I know not whether the revenues of my eſtate are

[e] Equal to 807 *l.* 5 *s.* 10 *d.*

leſs

leſs in value, or more uncertain, from the ſituation of it. But, whatever is wanting in income, is made up in œconomy; which, like a ſpring, ſupplies a conſtant ſtream to my liberality. However, my bounties ought to be ſuch, as not to exhauſt by profuſion the fountains, from whence they riſe: to all others, they ſhall be kept within bounds: but I ſhall ſtand ſufficiently juſtified, if to you they are ſuffered to overflow. Farewell.

OBSERVATIONS.

Among the Romans, the *hæredes*, or heirs, were diſtinguiſhed under three denominations: They were either *neceſſarii*, *ſui et neceſſarii*, or *extranei*.

The *hæres neceſſarius* was a bondman [f], inſtituted heir; and who acted as ſuch, whether he would or not, and had his freedom conſtantly, and of courſe given to him, for his having been involved in that trouble; the word *hæres* not being confined to the inheritance of land only, but alſo to the perſonal effects.

The *hæredes ſui et neceſſarii* were all the children of the deceaſed, whether males or females: and they were obliged to act as ſuch, unleſs diſinherited for ſome juſt cauſe, nor had it in their power to refuſe the execution of that office, but by a particular permiſſion from the *prætor*.

The *extranei* were thoſe, who were neither *bondmen*, nor under the power of the *teſtator*; and who might act, or not act, as they thought fit.

CALVINA was appointed *hæres* by the will of her father, and therefore was *hæres ſua et neceſſaria*; but, ſhe being apprehenſive, that her father's effects were not ſufficient to anſwer his debts, was deſirous to avoid the trouble of proving the will, and intended to gain a permiſſion from the *prætor*, to diſengage herſelf from acting as executrix, and to have a bondman appointed to eaſe her of that burden.

[f] The reaſon expreſly given for this inſtitution is this. "Thoſe, "who died much in debt, uſed to appoint a bondman heir, that "in ſome meaſure the reproach of poverty might fall upon the "bondman, and that the creditors might ſeize thoſe goods, "which ſeemed rather to belong to their heir, than to the teſtator."

PLINY unwilling, that the leaſt reproach ſhould fall upon the memory of his deceaſed friend, preſſes the daughter to undertake the execution of her father's will; *Debes famam defuncti pudoremque ſuſcipere:* "You ought, ſays he, to undertake the defence of your father's reputation, and to "ſkreen his memory from the ſcandal and reproach of poverty." To induce her to tread in the path of honour, which he here points out, we behold him acting in a manner ſo uncommonly benevolent, that in all antiquity there are few examples to equal it. But the particular acts of generoſity are ſo clearly expreſſed, and ſo ſenſibly notified in this epiſtle, that they neither want a comment, nor require a recommendation. They muſt charm every reader; and thoſe, who care not to imitate, will at leaſt be obliged to applaud the unlimited greatneſs of PLINY's ſoul.

EPISTLE V.

PLINY *to* LUPERCUS.

THE ſpeech, which you have ſo often importuned me to communicate, and which I have as often promiſed you, I now ſend; but you have it incompleat: the remainder in my hands ſtill wants the laſt poliſh. In the mean time, I thought it not amiſs to ſubmit ſuch parts to your judgement, as ſeem to me moſt finiſhed and correct. I entreat you will apply your attention to theſe papers with as ſcrupulous a nicety, as if you yourſelf were the author. Nothing I have ever yet compoſed demanded from me a greater degree of exactneſs. In my other ſpeeches I hoped to gain ſome reputation, by my diligence and by my integrity; but in this, by the love, which I manifeſted for my country. From which laſt motive, my book has ſwelled to a conſiderable bulk. For, whilſt I took pleaſure in heightening the beauties of my native ſoil, and in ſetting her forth in all her pomp of charms, I thought it my duty alſo to defend her honour, and to exalt her glory. However, pray reduce it, as you ſhall think

think reaſonable. For, when I conſider the cenſorious diſpoſition, and the delicacy of moſt readers, I am ſenſible, that I ought to look for part of my praiſe from the moderate ſize of my book.

Yet, what will ſeem ſtrange to you, and indeed very inconſiſtent with this requeſt, is, that notwithſtanding the ſeverity I have required from you, I am obliged to inſiſt, that you will let many things paſs uncriticiſed. For, there is great indulgence to be given to youthful readers, eſpecially where the ſubject will permit it. For example; the deſcription of places, which you will frequently meet with throughout the book, may not only be painted in an hiſtorical, but in a poetical manner. But if any one ſhould imagine, that in this inſtance, I have ſoared into unwarrantable flights, not altogether conſiſtent with the ſeriouſneſs of an oration, permit me to ſay to that grave perſon, that there are other parts of the ſpeech exactly fitted to the ſolemnity of his diſpoſition; which ought to mitigate the ſeverity of his cenſure. I have endeavoured, as much as poſſible, to engage different ſorts of readers by different ſorts of ſtyle; for, as on one hand, I have reaſon to fear, that particular parts may not pleaſe particular people, from the peculiar turn of their diſpoſition; ſo, on the other hand, I have reaſon to hope, that the great variety in my ſpeech may make it acceptable to all. Writing is like making an entertainment, for although every man does not taſte every diſh, we all join to praiſe the ſupper in general; nor are we leſs pleaſed with thoſe things, which are agreeable to our appetite, becauſe there are others, which our appetite cannot reliſh. In the ſame manner I would have this performance reliſhable to every palate; not that I flatter myſelf with a belief of having reached this perfection: I am only ſure, that I tried to reach it; and perhaps not in vain, if you will exert your diligence in reviſing the papers, which I now ſend you,

and thoſe, which ſhall ſoon follow. Here, you will ſay, it is impoſſible to correct in the manner you ought, without ſeeing the whole ſpeech together. I confeſs it; but whilſt theſe imperfect ſheets lie before you, they will become more and more familiar to your obſervations; and ſome of them are of ſuch a nature, that they may be ſeparately corrected. Thus, if you ſaw a head, or any other member, disjointed from a compleat ſtatue, you could not indeed from thence judge of the ſymmetry and proportion of the whole figure, but you might judge of the exactneſs of that particular part. This is the reaſon, that ſpecimens of books are handed about; becauſe ſome parts of a ſubject may be looked upon as compleat, though unconnected with the reſt. I find the pleaſure of talking to you has led me farther, than I intended to go. I will therefore conclude, leſt I exceed in a letter the bounds, which I would preſcribe even to an oration. Farewell.

OBSERVATIONS.

By this letter we find, that PLINY having made a ſpeech in honour of his native country *Comum* deſires LUPERCUS to look over that part of it, which he ſends him, and to render it as correct as poſſible. We have ſeen ſeveral of PLINY's preceding letters much to the ſame purpoſe. It was a conſtant rule with him to be extremely ſolicitous for his works, before they appeared, and to read them to the moſt competent judges he could ſelect among his acquaintance, that they might come out perfectly accurate, and worthy the reception of the public. This is what every writer ought to do.

> Truſt not yourſelf, but your defects to know,
> Make uſe of every friend, and every foe [g].

But the misfortune is, that thoſe, who want moſt correction, can leaſt bear it, and are leaſt improved by it. Like

[g] POPE's Eſſay on criticiſm.

aſſes,

aſſes, they kick at the ſpur, but move not one ſtep forwards. However it muſt be allowed, that the beſt authors are often too partial to their own works. This epiſtle is liable to objections: while PLINY is intreating LUPERCUS to make his book leſs, he is likewiſe attempting to defend every part of it, and has ſomething to ſay in vindication of each particular ſubject it contains: ſo that he ſeems rather deſirous to have the matter of it corrected, than the ſize of it reduced. There is certainly too much room for ſuch a remark; and it may be further ſaid, that he flatters himſelf with a very wild expectation of pleaſing all the world. But there would be no end of ſuch criticiſms: one tender ſentiment, one generous thought, or one high-finiſhed character, makes amends for a thouſand errors of this kind, which flow from the ſame prejudice in an author towards his works, as in a parent towards his child, a certain blind affection, that takes riſe in nature, and is generelly carried to exceſs.

EPISTLE VI.

PLINY *to* JUNIUS AVITUS.

IT would be too tedious, nor is it of any great conſequence to tell you, how I, (not overapt to run into familiarities,) happened to ſup at the houſe of a certain perſon, who, in his own opinion, makes a moſt elegant figure, and ſets up for an excellent œconomiſt; but who, in my opinion, is both ſordid and extravagant. To himſelf, and to a few of his ſelect friends, were ſerved up ſeveral rarities; but to the reſt of the company nothing but what was cheap and common, and not enough even of that. Three different ſorts of wine made their appearance in three different ſorts of bottles; not to furniſh us with the liberty of our choice, but to deprive us of the right of refuſing; for one ſort was for himſelf, and for us; another ſort was for his minor friends, (for it ſeems he has degrees of friends) and the third for his own freedmen and ours. During the ſupper, my next neighbour

neighbour aſked me, if I approved of this method? I anſwered, No. What is your own way then? ſays he: I replied, When I make an invitation, all are ſerved alike: I invite them with a deſign to entertain, not to affront them; and thoſe I think worthy of a place at my table, I certainly think worthy of every thing it affords. What, ſays he, your freedmen? Yes: for on ſuch an occaſion I look upon them as my gueſts, not as my freedmen. Your ſuppers muſt then be very expenſive? No: quite the contrary. How can that be? Very eaſily: my freedmen do not drink the ſame wine as I; but I drink the ſame wine as my freedmen: and in truth, if you are not very delicate, it is no great expence to let all your gueſts eat and drink at your table, in the ſame manner as yourſelf. If you are inclined to ſave expences, keep your appetite within bounds, and reduce your deſires into regularity; by which means your own temperance will guide you into a much better œconomy, than this haughty treatment of other people.

But, to what purpoſe are all theſe particulars? That a young man, of ſo excellent a diſpoſition as you are, ſhould not be betrayed into the imitation of certain perſons, who are infinitely extravagant under the ſpecious appearance of frugality. It is conſonant to the affection I bear you, that, whenever any example of this kind falls in my way, I ſhould ſet it before you, as a neceſſary caution for your own conduct. Remember therefore, that nothing ought to be more carefully avoided, than this new faſhioned mixture of luxury and ſordidneſs; two vices, which are moſt abominable, even when ſeparate and aſunder; but infinitely worſe, when joined together. Farewell.

OBSER-

OBSERVATIONS.

There are no two vices, that ſeem more directly oppoſite, and yet are more firmly united, than avarice and prodigality. They often dwell in the ſame breaſt, and take equal poſſeſſion of the ſame heart. From this unnatural union, is conſtantly formed a ſtrange kind of animal, exactly ſuch a creature, as is deſcribed in this epiſtle, whoſe ſoul, like a motley coat, is a mixture of various pieces, and of different colours: it is proud and ſubmiſſive, ſlaviſh and aſſuming, oſtentatious and niggardly, ignorant and vain, an œconomiſt and a ſpendthrift, an alms-giver and a cheat, and, upon the whole, a vile compoſition of halves, making, when joined together, one of the moſt hideous monſters in the world. "A monſter, ſays ARISTOTLE, is a defect of "nature, when acting towards ſome end, ſhe cannot attain "to it, becauſe ſome of the principles are corrupted." This is an exact definition of the perſon, deſcribed in this epiſtle; who attempted to appear full of generoſity and prudence, but was too corrupt to be perfect in any good quality whatever. The diſtinction he made in his gueſts, and the different ſorts of wine he gave them, diſcovered that kind of avarice, which attempts to paſs upon the world for frugality; every vice trying to ſkreen itſelf behind a neighbouring virtue. A man of ſenſe and ſpirit would have choſen gueſts, either equally dear to him, or of equal rank among themſelves. I am apt to think, that at this variegated ſupper, when we have excepted PLINY, the beſt hearts, and the beſt heads, were to be found amongſt thoſe, who ſat at the lower end of the table, and ſhared the worſt part of the feaſt.

The motives, that induced our author to write this letter, and to deſcribe this abſurd entertainment, are extremely correſpondent with all the reſt of his ſentiments. AVITUS was a young Roman of great hopes, and very promiſing qualifications. PLINY could no where have choſen a fitter object for his affection: and we ſee him amicably ſolicitous, that his riſing genius ſhould avoid the rocks and quickſands, upon which others, at his time of life, are too apt to ſplit. He ſets forth the baſeneſs of avarice, and the vain-glory of profuſeneſs, with a ſpirit and diſdain, which becomes him; and he recommends temperance and frugality,

lity, the true ſources of long health and long happineſs, in a manner moſt likely to make an impreſſion upon AVITUS. He aſſures him, that the epiſtle was written purely upon his account, and from a friendly deſire of pointing out to him the beauties of virtue, and the deformities of vice: but alas! the letter, the precepts, and the friendſhip were all beſtowed in vain. JUNIUS AVITUS was cut off in the ſpring of his age, and the dawning of his virtues; and we ſhall find PLINY, in the eighth book of theſe epiſtles, weeping over his aſhes.

EPISTLE VII.

PLINY *to* MACRINUS.

YEſterday the ſenate decreed a triumphal ſtatue to VESTRITIUS SPURINNA; the emperor having been the firſt, who propoſed it. An honour not beſtowed upon him as on many, who never were in an army, never ſaw a camp, nor ever heard a trumpet, except at the public diverſions; but as on thoſe, who had acquired it by their ſweat, their wounds, and their heroiſm: for SPURINNA placed the king of the *Bructeri* upon his throne by force of arms, and then tamed that ſavage nation into obedience, by the moſt eligible kind of victory, terror, and the outward ſhew and pomp of war.

This was a reward due to the valour, which he ſhewed upon many remarkable occaſions: and, as a conſolation to his grief, the honour of a ſtatue was decreed alſo to his ſon COTTIUS, whom he loſt during his abſence. Young men have ſeldom been thus diſtinguiſhed; but the merits of the father claimed this honour for the ſon, whoſe death was too deep a wound not to require ſome very aſſwaging remedy. Beſides, COTTIUS himſelf had given ſo noble a ſpecimen of his diſpoſition, that his life, ſhort and limited as it was, deſerved to be lengthned out by this kind of immortality. There was ſo much uprightneſs,

neſs, ſuch a compoſure, ſo much dignity in his behaviour, that he might have challenged in virtue much older men, whom he now equals in honours: Honours, in which, according to my way of thinking, not only the memory of the dead, and the grief of the father, but the force of example likewiſe were conſidered.

Rewards of this high nature, conferred on young perſons, if they are deſerving, will raiſe a ſpirit of emulation in our youth, to apply themſelves to the liberal arts. Our great men will likewiſe be excited to raiſe families, ſince they will receive ſuch pleaſure from the lives of their children, and ſo much honour and comfort in caſe of their death. For theſe reaſons, on the public account, the ſtatue of COTTIUS gives me great pleaſure, and, on a private account, no leſs; for I loved this moſt accompliſhed youth, as ſincerely, when alive, as I now wiſh for him impatiently, when dead. It will therefore afford me a moſt ſatisfactory conſolation, to conſider his ſtatue with attention, to ſtand under it, and to walk to and fro before it. For, if the ſtatues of our dead friends, when put up in our own houſes, alleviate our grief; how much more muſt it be leſſened by their ſtatues conſpicuouſly erected in public places, where not only their figure and their countenance, but alſo their honour and their glory are repreſented! Farewell.

OBSERVATIONS.

The character of SPURINNA will be found in the firſt epiſtle of the third book: but the deſcription, given of him there, is in his private capacity, and in his domeſtic ſcene of life, at a time when he had hung up his arms, and was retired to his plough. Here his picture is drawn in the attitude of a patriot, a ſoldier, and a conqueror. And he was now returning home crowned with laurels, and loaded with

with renown; but unfortunate, amidſt all theſe honours, in the loſs of a hopeful ſon.

We find SPURINNA particularly mentioned by TACITUS, as one of the moſt conſiderable men in OTHO's party, during the civil wars between that emperor and VITELLIUS. But in this expedition againſt the *Bructeri*, he had no occaſion to come to a battle: thoſe barbarians yielded to him as ſoon as he approached their borders: they were terrified at his name: they dreaded the valour of his troops, and they had experienced his own courage, and his conduct; and therefore they not only received their king from him, but quietly returned to their former government.

The *Bructeri* were a people of *Germany*, who lived by war and plunder: and their boundaries were ſo often changed, according to their conqueſts, or defeats, that the exact limits of their territories are very difficult to be aſcertained. CLAUDIAN ſays, they inhabited the *Hercynian* foreſt:

Venit accola ſylvæ
Bructerus Hercyniæ [h].

According to CÆSAR this foreſt was of vaſt extent. His words are theſe: [i] *Hujus Hercyniæ ſylvæ latitudo ix. dierum iter expedito patet. Non enim aliter finiri poteſt, neque menſuras itinerum noverunt. Oritur ab Helvetiorum et Nemetum et Rauracorum finibus, rectaque fluminis Danubii regione pertinet ad fines Dacorum et Anartium: hinc ſe flectit, ſiniſtrorſus, diverſis à flumine regionibus, multarumque gentium fines propter magnitudinem adtingit. Neque quiſquam eſt hujus Germaniæ, qui ſe aut adiſſe ad initium ejus ſylvæ dicat, quum dierum iter lx. proceſſerit, aut, quo ex loco oriatur, acceperit. Multa in ea genera ferarum naſci, conſtat, quæ reliquis in locis viſa non ſint.*

The modern ſituation is thus given to us in Mr. BLADEN's tranſlation.

" [k] The Hercynian foreſt is nine days journey over in " breadth; for I cannot compute it any other way, becauſe " the Germans are ignorant of the uſe of meaſure: it com- " mences in the confines of *Switzerland*, *Baſle*, and *Spiers*,

[h] iv Conſul. Honor. ℣. 450.
[i] Cæſar de Bello Gallico. Lib. 6. cap. 25.
[k] BLADEN's Cæſar, Book 6. chap. 10.

" and

" and extends along the river *Danube* as far as *Tranſilvania*; " then turning from the river to the left, it runs through an " infinite number of countries; nor is there any German " that has travelled through it, or knows its utmoſt extent, " though ſeveral have gone ſixty days journey in it. In " this wood are ſeveral kinds of wild beaſts, which are not " to be met with elſewhere."

A people bred up in woods, and nurſed among wild beaſts, muſt be naturally rude, fierce, and untamed: and nothing can give us a higher idea of VESTRICIUS SPURINNA, than to ſee theſe ſavages tremble at his appearance, and loſe their ferocity of temper at his approach. The muſic of ORPHEUS had no greater influence upon dumb brutes, than the preſence of SPURINNA had upon thoſe in human ſhape.

In the early days of the republic, when juſtice was adminiſtered moſt religiouſly, and rewards diſtributed moſt impartially, ſtatues and honours of all kinds were decreed with a very ſteady and a very ſparing hand. LIVY, ſpeaking of L. FURIUS CAMILLUS and his collegue C. MÆNIUS, both conſuls in the year four hundred and ſeventeen, ſays, [l] *Additus triumpho honos, ut ſtatuae equeſtres eis, rara illâ aetate res, in foro ponerentur:* " An additional honour graced the " triumph, that equeſtrian ſtatues ſhould be placed in the " *forum*; an unuſual favour in that age." PLINY the elder ſpeaks to the ſame purpoſe in the fourth [m] chapter of his thirty fourth book. But in the times of luxury, avarice, and injuſtice, ſtatues loſt their intrinſic value, and were to be purchaſed by money, not by merit.

Triumphales, inter quas auſus habere
Neſcio quis titulos Ægyptius atque Arabarches [n].

Behold the ſtatues, where amidſt the race
Of conquering *Rome*, ſome Arab ſhews his face,
Inſcrib'd with titles, and profanes the place [o].

When honours of any ſort are proſtituted, they are changed into marks of infamy and diſgrace; and will be

[l] Livii, lib. 8. cap. 13.
[m] *Effigies hominum non ſolebant exprimi niſi aliquâ illuſtri causâ.*
[n] JUVENAL, Satir. 1. ℣. 129.
[o] DRYDEN's Juvenal. Satir. 1. ℣. 195.

looked

looked upon by every honeſt mind with horror and diſdain: they are no longer badges of dignity, but yokes of ſervitude; no longer the price of virtue, but the bribes of vice. They degenerate into the accoutrements of knaves and fools, and become the ſigns and tokens to diſtinguiſh the corrupt, from the incorrupt, the *Catilines* from the *Catos*. But on the other hand, when honours, as in the days of TRAJAN, flow in a pure channel, and ſpring from a fountain, that is clear and unſullied, who is not glad to approach the ſtream? And PLINY in his panegyric, a work of ſtudy and labour, has been able to ſay nothing, that redounds more to the praiſe of his imperial maſter, than what he has curſorily ſaid in this epiſtle; where we may diſcover ſuch a mixture of compaſſion and good-nature, joined to ſo much equity and public ſpirit, and ſo noble a deſign of exciting young men to an early thirſt of glory, as muſt render the name of TRAJAN for ever revered and admired. Not content with erecting a triumphal ſtatue to SPURINNA, the emperor endeavours to dry up the father's tears, by beſtowing equal honours upon the ſon, and decrees a ſtatue to COTTIUS, at an age when his years had permitted him only to begin the race of virtue, and not reach the goal.

EPISTLE VIII.

PLINY *to* CANINIUS RUFUS.

ARE you ſtudying? Are you fiſhing? Are you hunting? Or are you taking theſe ſeveral diverſions at once? which you may eaſily do in our country about the *Larian lake*. The lake itſelf affords fiſh; the woods with which it is ſurrounded, wild beaſts; and the retreat, in which you live, ſufficient ſolitude for ſtudy. But whether you exerciſe yourſelf in theſe diverſions all at once, or whether you are attached to any one of them in particular; I cannot ſay, I envy you. However, I muſt own I am vexed to be debarred from pleaſures, which I as eagerly thirſt after, as a man in a fever pants for wine, cold baths and ſpring water. If I cannot looſe theſe

theſe cords that fetter me, ſhall I never be able to break them? Indeed I believe not. New ſcenes of buſineſs riſe upon the old, nor are the firſt diſpatched till I am embarraſſed by freſh employments, as ſo many additions to my bonds, and ſo many links to my chain. Farewell.

OBSERVATIONS.

Here PLINY ſhews great impatience to quit the hurry of buſineſs, and to enjoy ſome of thoſe pleaſures which the *Larian lake* affords. "I do not envy you, ſays he to CANINIUS, in your diverſions, happily ſituated as you are, "upon the borders of our *Larian lake*, a place, which, to "my knowledge, abounds with all the rural amuſements "you can deſire. The envy of my heart can never riſe "from your happineſs: yet give me leave to ſay, I wiſh "myſelf with you; for in the ſituation I now am, I lead "a life very different from yours, and move on in a tedi-"ous track of buſineſs, without the leaſt hopes of coming "to my journey's end. If I look forward, new difficul-"ties ſtill preſent themſelves; and yet a man in a fever "is not more impatient for drink, than I am for liberty; "a bleſſing, which, in all probability, I languiſh after in "vain. Farewell.

Not to trouble the reader with any more remarks upon *Comum*, which has been already ſpecified as the birth place of PLINY, and the town which gives name to the *Lago di Como*, we may obſerve, that this letter was certainly dated from *Rome*, and probably written at the beginning of TRAJAN's reign; when PLINY was one of the commiſſioners of the treaſury of SATURN, an employment, for which he was more fitted by his abilities, than by his inclinations. The philoſophic turn of his mind, had he ſuffered it to have broken in upon his duty to his country and to his maſter, would have led him from noiſe and buſineſs, to groves and gardens, from the muddy river *Tiber*, to the ſilver *Larian lake*.

EPISTLE IX.

PLINY *to* APOLLINARIS.

THE petition of my friend SEXTUS ERUCIUS has thrown me into a ſtate of great anxiety and inquietude. I am overwhelmed with care; and I have never ſuffered ſo much upon my own account, as I now feel for my ſecond ſelf. Beſides, my credit, my reputation, and my dignity, are in ſome meaſure at ſtake. I obtained from our emperor a place in the ſenate, and afterwards the queſtorſhip for SEXTUS. It is by my intereſt he is now permitted to petition for the tribuneſhip: and unleſs he carries it in the ſenate, I am afraid I ſhall appear to have given a falſe character of him to TRAJAN. I muſt therefore endeavour to make all other people view him in the ſame advantageous light, in which I repreſented him to the emperor. But if even this reaſon had no weight with me, I ſhould certainly deſire to be of ſervice to a young man, whoſe probity, behaviour, and learning, cannot be too much admired. Nor are his relations leſs eminent; for his father ERUCIUS CLARUS is a man of great morality, primitive worth, and polite elocution; having been a long practitioner in pleading, and always appearing in defence of his client with the utmoſt probity and reſolution, and no leſs modeſty. He has an uncle, CAIUS SEPTITIUS, who, I think, cannot be exceeded either in veracity, candor, or ſincerity. The whole family contend with, and equal, each other in their love of me; and now I have an opportunity, by obliging one to repay them all. So at preſent I am earneſtly employed in ſoliciting the votes of my friends: I go to their houſes, I beſet the chief places of their reſort, I canvaſs every one, and I try, by my entreaties, how far my intereſt and credit can poſſibly

poſſibly prevail. To you alſo I muſt become a ſuppliant, that you would take a part in the affair. I will return the favour, if ever you deſire me: nay, I will return it, though you ſhould not deſire me. Many people love you, admire you, and viſit you: only ſhew how well you are inclined to SEXTUS ERUCIUS, and numbers will never be wanting to follow the bent of your inclinations. Farewell.

OBSERVATIONS.

This letter diſplays the juſt pride of an honeſt heart. PLINY looks upon his own character and reputation to be deeply concerned in the ſucceſs of SEXTUS ERUCIUS, and at the ſame time thinks himſelf under high obligations to the whole *Erucian* family; all which he is eager to repay, by obtaining the tribuneſhip for his much eſteemed friend SEXTUS.

A good man ſcorns to be outdone in acts of friendſhip: he is impatient to refund his debts of honour; and knows no greater uneaſineſs, than the want of opportunities to put his gratitude in full force: But to examine this epiſtle more cloſely.

Afficior curâ, et quam pro me ſolicitudinem non adii, quaſi pro me altero patior: "I undergo, ſays PLINY, an inexpreſſible "anxiety of mind, and ſuffer more for the man I love, than "I have felt for myſelf throughout the whole courſe of "my life."

Whoever is capable of friendſhip will be extremely pleaſed with this ſentiment, as thoroughly correſponding with the dictates of his own heart: for friendſhip, like inſpiration, drives us forward with reſiſtleſs impetuoſity, and makes us act and feel for others with different and more violent agitations, than we have ever felt for ourſelves.

Ego SEXTO *latum clavum a Cæſare noſtro, ego quæſturam impetravi:* "I obtained from our emperor the ſenatorial "tunic, and I alſo obtained from him the queſtorſhip for "SEXTUS."

The *latus clavus* was a robe only worn by conſuls, prætors, generals in triumph, ſenators, who are thence often called *laticlavii*, or their ſons [P]. But the emperors had a power to

[P] Vid. SUETON. in vit. AUGUSTI. cap. 38.

beſtow this garment of diſtinction, and all privileges belonging to it, upon whomſoever they thought worthy of that honour. So that ERUCIUS received this robe entirely from TRAJAN's favour, and PLINY's friendſhip: which was a right founded upon merit and virtue, and conſequently preferable to any right he could have claimed from his anceſtors.

No perſon could enjoy the employment of *quæſtor*, till he was turned of twenty five or twenty ſeven years: for authors are not agreed as to the exact age, unleſs the emperor, as in this caſe, interpoſed. The *quæſtores ærarii* were anſwerable to our lords of the treaſury: and SEXTUS was every way qualified for ſo great a truſt.

Meo ſuffragio pervenit ad jus tribunatum petendi; quem niſi obtinet in ſenatu, vereor ne decepiſſe Cæſarem videar: "At "my inſtigation, he now puts in his claim of petitioning "for the tribuneſhip: which, if he ſhould loſe in the ſe-"nate, I am apprehenſive our royal maſter may imagine I "have deceived him, firſt in giving my friend too good a "character, and then in repreſenting my own intereſt with "the ſenate, greater than it really is." This ſeems to be the meaning of the ſentence juſt now quoted, and plainly implies that SEXTUS, by PLINY's aſſiſtance, was endeavouring to gain the tribuneſhip, when it was more matter of favour, than of right. Our author had already puſhed ERUCIUS into preferments, and had brought him forward, and made him great, as he was virtuous and learned, above his years. He had procured for him the robe of honour: he had beſtowed upon him the queſtorſhip; and, to crown all, he now ſolicits for him the tribuneſhip, with indefatigable induſtry, and by every honeſt method, that could be deviſed.

Happy are the people, when the ruling miniſter is both a wiſe and an honeſt man: as it is the rareſt, ſo it is the greateſt felicity that can befal a nation: his chief minions and dependants will then be the props and pillars to ſupport and adorn the ſtate; not the pick-axes and crow-irons to dilapidate and undermine it: And he himſelf will act according to the rules laid down by HORACE in lines, that cannot be too often repeated:

Qualem commendes, etiam atque etiam aſpice; ne mox
Incutiant aliena tibi peccata pudorem.

Fallimur,

Fallimur, et quondam non dignum tradimus : ergo
Quem ſua culpa premet, deceptus omitte tueri [q].

Prudent and cautious whom you recommend,
Look well ; and ſtudy long your riſing friend :
Leſt by your help, when he aſcends the height,
And ſtands expos'd to fame, and public ſight,
His faults roll back, like SISYPHUS his ſtone,
And by the weight oppreſs'd you ſink undone.
Piercing the judgement, nice muſt be the eye,
Vices and latent paſſions to deſcry.
Blind if we are, our blindneſs let us own ;
Nor ſtrive to ſcreen a villain, when he's known.

[q] HORAT. Epiſt. 18. lib. 1.

EPISTLE X.

PLINY *to* OCTAVIUS FUFUS.

O Thou unambitious ! thou hard-hearted ! thou cruel man ! to keep books of ſo great value buried ſo long. How long will you deprive yourſelf of praiſe, and us of pleaſure ? Suffer your works to be peruſed by mankind ; and let them extend as wide as the Roman language prevails : for as you have highly raiſed our expectations, they ought now neither to be fruſtrated or deferred. Some of your verſes are already come to light, and have eſcaped from their impriſonment againſt your will. You may be ſure, like fugitives, they will ſoon find an owner, unleſs you gather them into a volume. Place mortality before your eyes ; reflect, that this is the only pillar to raiſe you above it : all other monuments, frail and ſubject to decay, no leſs than men themſelves, ſink into oblivion, and moulder into nothing. You will ſay as uſual ; " the friends I leave behind " will ſee juſtice done to my memory." From the bottom of my ſoul I wiſh theſe friends ſufficiently faithful, ſufficiently learned and ſufficiently laborious,

to be both able and willing to undertake a taſk, which muſt require ſo great care and aſſiduity. But conſider, whether it is not a little raſh to expect from others, what you will not undertake for yourſelf. However, be the publication when it will, at leaſt give us a rehearſal of your works; and that will ſoon make you give us an edition of them. It will alſo put you into immediate poſſeſſion of that kind of joy, which I have ſo long ago, with ſufficient reaſon, allotted to you in my own mind: for I have repreſented to myſelf, what crowds, what applauſe, what noiſe, nay even what ſilence muſt neceſſarily attend you: A ſilence, which, whenever I ſpeak or rehearſe in public, delights me more than the loudeſt clamours of approbation; if it proceed from depth of thought, attention to what is ſpeaking, and deſire of hearing ſtill more. Forbear then, by an endleſs procraſtination, to defraud your ſtudies of ſo plentiful and ſo ripe a harveſt: for it is certainly to be feared, that your delay, when carried to an exceſs, will be interpreted idleneſs, ſloth, or what is worſe, timidity. Farewell.

OBSERVATIONS.

To induce OCTAVIUS to give the public an edition of his works, PLINY, with his uſual politeneſs, entreats his friend to conſider, that there is nothing can ſecure to him immortality, but his poems. *Non cætera fragilia et caduca, non minus quam ipſi homines, occidunt deſinuntque:* "Other "things, ſays he, periſh like mortal men, and are ſubject "to decay and to oblivion."

We find all the antient authors exceſſively deſirous to tranſmit their names to poſterity, and to enjoy honours as laſting as the world itſelf. The moderns have likewiſe the ſame ambition. But

I.

How ſwift, alas! the rolling years
Haſte to devour their deſtin'd prey!
A moth each winged minute bears,
Which ſtill in vain the ſtationers
From the dead authors ſweep away; And

And troops of canker worms, with ſecret pride,
Through gay vermilion leaves and gilded covers glide.

II.

Great BAVIUS, ſhould thy critic vein
Each day ſupply the teeming preſs,
Of ink ſhouldſt thou whole rivers drain,
Not one octavo ſhall remain,
To ſhew thy learning and addreſs:
Oblivion drags them to her ſilent cell,
Where brave king ARTHUR, and his nobles dwell.

III.

Authors of every ſize and name,
Knights, ſquires, and doctors of all colours,
From the purſuit of laſting fame
Retiring, there a manſion claim;
Behold the fate of modern ſcholars!
Why will you then, with hope deluſive led,
For various readings toil, which never will be read?

IV.

With ſilver claſp, and corner plate,
You fortify the favourite book.
Fear not from worms nor time thy fate:
More cruel foes thy works await;
The butler, with the impatient cook,
And paſtry nymphs, with trunk-makers, combine,
To eaſe the groaning ſhelves, and ſpoil the fair deſign[r].

Dices, ut ſoles, amici mei viderint. Opto equidem tibi tam fideles, tam eruditos, tam laborioſos, ut tantum curæ intentioniſque ſuſcipere et poſſint et velint: "You will ſay with your "uſual careleſsneſs, My friends, after I am dead, will take "care of my works. It is the warmeſt wiſh of my heart, "that the friends you leave behind you may have fidelity, "learning and zeal, anſwerable to ſo pleaſing a duty, and "ſo great an undertaking."

[r] In imitation of HORACE's Ode to POSTHUMUS. *Eheu fugaces, Poſthume, Poſthume.*

This is the wiſh of reaſon and of friendſhip: PLINY, anxious leſt the reputation of OCTAVIUS ſhould be ſullied, after his death, by a poſthumous edition of his works, urges him to ſecure his character, during his life-time, and to oblige the world with an immediate publication of his writings; and, as a farther argument, ſays, "that OCTAVIUS can ſcarce expect from others the juſtice, which is "in his own power, and which he denies to himſelf." If PLINY's advice to OCTAVIUS was neceſſary in that age, it is certainly of no leſs conſequence in this, when the names of our greateſt authors are ſacrificed, and their moſt imperfect works publiſhed, by the avarice and folly of their ſurviving friends.

EPISTLE XI.

PLINY *to* ARRIANUS.

YOU have been uſually delighted to hear any thing, which paſſed in the ſenate, becoming the dignity of that aſſembly. For, although you, to enjoy retirement, have withdrawn yourſelf from hence, yet your concern for the honour of the commonwealth ſtill remains uppermoſt in your thoughts. Liſten then to an act, that paſſed within theſe few days. An act, famous by the high character of the perſon concerned, advantageous by the ſeverity of the example, and memorable to all poſterity by the importance of the cauſe.

MARIUS PRISCUS, who had been proconſul [5] in *Africa*, upon an accuſation exhibited againſt him by the *Africans*, without making a defence, demanded judges. CORNELIUS TACITUS and I were ordered to appear for the provincials: and we thought, that we

[5] The proconſuls were governors of a province; and had equal power in their government with the conſuls at *Rome:* but at their return they were often called to a ſtrict account, and bills were preferred againſt them: of which this epiſtle gives a particular inſtance.

were

were in duty obliged to acquaint the ſenate, that the crimes, of which PRISCUS ſtood accuſed, were of ſo enormous and of ſo cruel a nature, that he could not be allowed the favour he required; he having taken money to condemn, and put to death ſeveral innocent perſons. FRONTO CATIUS was council for the reſpondent; and he humbly prayed, that the law againſt taking bribes, during the execution of an office, might not be ſtretched too far. CATIUS is a man expert in drawing tears from his audience, and in filling the ſails of his ſpeech by the breath of pity. A great debate immediately aroſe; great clamours iſſued from all ſides; ſome affirming, that the ſenate was excluded, by the ſtatute againſt bribery, from taking cognizance of the crime; others arguing, that the ſenate was at free liberty to examine into it, and, that as far as he was a tranſgreſſor of the laws, ſo far thoſe laws were to be vindicated. At laſt JULIUS FEROX, conſul elect, a man of great probity and virtue, declared his opinion, that MARIUS ſhould have judges allotted to him; but that nevertheleſs thoſe people, to whom he was ſaid to have ſold innocent blood, ſhould be ſummoned to appear. After all the different opinions, this laſt propoſition did not only take place, but was the ſingle point, in which the variety of ſentiments ſolely concurred.

It is obſervable from experience, that though favour and compaſſion make, at firſt, very deep and very violent impreſſions, yet in a little time they give way to judgement and reaſon, and are in a manner entirely eraſed; from whence it happens, that when many perſons join their reſolutions with the common voice of the multitude, ſcarce any one of them would maintain and ſtand to thoſe reſolutions, were he to ſpeak alone. In the general clamour of an aſſembly, each man's particular ſentiments are drowned and loſt in the outcry; but when he is diſtinguiſhed, and ſingled out from the crowd, his opinion

opinion muſt neceſſarily be made known and appear.

VITELLIUS HONORATUS, and FLAVIUS MARCIANUS attended, according to order. HONORATUS was accuſed of procuring, by bribery, a Roman knight to be exiled, and ſeven of his friends to be murdered: for which he gave three hundred thouſand ſeſterces [t], MARCIANUS, of giving ſeven hundred thouſand ſeſterces [u], to have a greater puniſhment inflicted upon another Roman knight; who was firſt beaten with cudgels, then condemned to the mines, and afterwards ſtrangled in priſon. Death very opportunely reſcued HONORATUS from the juſtice of the ſenate. MARCIANUS was brought to trial, at a time when PRISCUS was abſent; therefore TUTIUS CEREALIS, a perſon of conſular dignity, inſiſted, by virtue of his ſenatorial privilege, that PRISCUS ought to have notice given him of the trial. It is difficult to ſay, what induced CEREALIS to make this motion. He either thought, that PRISCUS, by being preſent, would become a greater object of mercy; or he might think the contrary, that he would be a greater object of hatred; or, what I believe is moſt probable, he imagined, that the juſteſt act, in ſuch a caſe, where the crime was common, was to make the acquittal, or the puniſhment ſo too. The affair was poſtponed to the next meeting of the ſenate; a meeting, in which the majeſty of the ſtate appeared in all its glory. The emperor, for he was then conſul, preſided: the month was January; a time of the year remarkable, above any other, for the large concourſe of ſenators at *Rome*. Beſides which, the importance of the cauſe, the expectation and noiſe raiſed by the delay of it, and the natural curioſity, which we mortals have, to be appriſed and informed of

[t] This ſum is reduced to Engliſh money, page 67.

[u] [*Septingentis millibus.*] Seven hundred thouſand ſeſterces, are equal to 5651 *l.* 0*s.* 10 *d.*

whatever

whatever is remarkable and extraordinary, drew all people from all parts.

Imagine then what anxiouſneſs, what dread we muſt have felt, who were to ſpeak in ſo important an affair, in ſuch an aſſembly, and in preſence of the emperor. I have more than once ſpoke before the ſenate, and never met with greater indulgence in any place whatever. But now, as all things appeared new to me, my fears were new alſo. Beſides, as I hinted before, I could not but reflect on the difficulty of the cauſe. I could not but repreſent PRISCUS, in my own mind, as a man of conſular dignity, as a miniſter of thoſe ſacrifices, which we offer to the gods; and then again fallen and degraded from all honours! It was a heavy taſk upon me to be forced to accuſe a man, who ſeemed already condemned [w]: my juſtice drove me forward againſt his crimes; my compaſſion, that kind of compaſſion, which we feel for perſons under ſentence, drew me back to ſhield him from his puniſhment: however, I recollected my thoughts, and ſummoned up my ſpirits.

I began my ſpeech with no leſs favourable opinion in my audience, than fearful apprehenſions in myſelf. I ſpoke near five hours; having obtained [x] an hour and a half to be added to the three hours and a half to which I was limited: ſo that all thoſe difficulties, which appeared terrible to me before I had ſpoken, vaniſhed in ſpeaking, and became eaſy. CÆ-

[w] By the law *de repetundis*, againſt bribery in magiſtrates, and public officers.

[x] *Nam decem clepſydris, quas ſpatioſiſſimas acceperam, ſunt additæ quatuor.* The *clepſydra* was a glaſs, by which the *Romans* meaſured their time. It was contrived like the hour glaſſes, which we uſe in *England*, with this difference, that water dropt through the *clepſydra*, inſtead of ſand. There were ſeveral ſorts of this engine. *Spatioſiſſimas acceperam*, ſeems to ſignify that PLINY made uſe of the larger ſort; three of which, it is probable, were run out in an hour. If our author had compleated his five hours in ſpeaking, he would have conſumed fifteen water-glaſſes.

SAR

SAR indeed ſhewed ſo great a regard for me, ſo great care of me, it would be too much to ſay he had ſuch an anxiety about me, that he often ordered my freedman, who ſtood behind me, to put me in mind not to exert my voice and ſtrength too far; being apprehenſive, that the vehemence of my argument carried me beyond what the delicacy of my conſtitution could bear. CLAUDIUS MARCELLINUS, council of the other ſide, anſwered me: then the ſenate was diſmiſſed, and adjourned to the next day; for night coming on, the pleadings could no longer be continued.

SALVIUS LIBERALIS appeared the next day as council for MARIUS; always a ſubtle reaſoner, methodical, ſharp, and eloquent. But, in this particular cauſe he exerted all his ſkill. CORNELIUS TACITUS anſwered him moſt eloquently; and, what is a peculiar excellence in his ſpeeches, with great dignity. FRONTO CATIUS made a very bright reply, in defence of MARIUS, and took up more time, as the caſe indeed required, in endeavouring to move the compaſſion of his audience, than in making a defence for his client. Night came on again juſt as he had finiſhed his oration: ſo the concluſive proofs were put off to the third day. And here I muſt obſerve, what a beautiful face of antient juſtice appeared, in ſeeing the ſenate ſummoned three days together upon the ſame cauſe; and that cauſe continued thoſe three days, and nothing ſuffered to interrrupt it, but the approach of night.

CORNUTUS TERTULLUS, one of the future conſuls, a man of great accompliſhments, and moſt unſhaken integrity, was of opinion, that the bribe, amounting to ſeven hundred thouſand ſeſterces, which MARIUS had taken, ſhould be paid into the public treaſury, and that MARIUS ſhould be baniſhed *Rome*, and the dominions of *Italy*: and that the baniſhment of MARCIANUS ſhould extend ſtill farther, and *Africa* be included in it. At the end of this motion, he added,

that

that TACITUS and I having moſt faithfully and reſolutely diſcharged our duty, the ſenate ought to decree, that we had performed our parts, in a manner ſuitable to the dignity of that public ſervice, in which we had been employed.

The conſuls elect, and all of conſular dignity, aſſented to the motion made by TERTULLUS, till POMPEIUS COLLEGA made a new propoſition; which was, that the ſeven hundred thouſand ſeſterces ſhould be paid into the treaſury, and that MARCIANUS ſhould be baniſhed for five years; but that MARIUS, having paid back the money, according to the law againſt bribery, ought not to ſuffer baniſhment. Theſe two different opinions were patronized by many voices: the majority perhaps were for the latter, as it was the milder, and leſs oppreſſive ſentence; for ſome, who ſeemed to have been of the ſame ſentiments with CORNUTUS, now followed the new propoſal. But, when the ſenate came to a diviſion, thoſe, who ſtood near the conſuls chairs, began to declare themſelves in favour of CORNUTUS; and thoſe, who had ſuffered themſelves to be numbered in their places for COLLEGA, now went over to the other ſide; ſo that COLLEGA was left with few friends about him. He complained in very bitter terms againſt the perſons, who had engaged him in making this new propoſition, and eſpecially againſt REGULUS, who firſt adviſed him to it, and then deſerted him in it. But the genius of REGULUS is ſo fluctuating, that in one minute he is an hero, in the next a coward.

Thus ended this moſt ample examination, not without leaving behind it a public enquiry of no ſmall conſequence. HOSTILIUS FIRMINUS, the harbinger of MARIUS PRISCUS, when the latter was ſent into *Africa*, was ſo interwoven, and entangled in his maſter's cauſe, that he has been moſt heavily and vigorouſly proſecuted. For both by the account books of MARCIANUS, and by the ſpeech he made before the people

of

of LEPTIS, he was proved to have acted an under-part in all the wicked adminiſtration of PRISCUS, and to have made a bargain with MARCIANUS, whereby his ſhare of the bribe amounted to above fifty thouſand denarii [y]. He was likewiſe proved to have taken a ſum of ten thouſand ſeſterces [z], under the baſe denomination of a perfumer; a title well becoming ſo powdered, and ſo painted a coxcomb. The matter was referred, upon the motion of CORNUTUS, to the next meeting of the ſenate: and then, it is uncertain whether out of ſhame or not, HOSTILIUS was abſent.

Here, you have a diary of what paſſes at *Rome*. In return ſend me ſuch news as is ſtirring in the country. Give us an account of your plantations, your vines, your corn, and your choice ſheep. Upon the whole, ſend me a long letter, or never expect another long letter from me. Farewell.

OBSERVATIONS.

There is a natural curioſity in mankind to look into the moſt minute events of paſt ages. We are deſirous to be fully acquainted with all the tranſactions and ceremonies of our predeceſſors, and for that reaſon are leſs obſerving and circumſpect about the preſent times, than we ought to be. We take it for granted, that what are the availing cuſtoms now, will remain always the ſame; and therefore we are as little careful to ſatisfy the inquiſitiveneſs of poſterity, as our anceſtors have been to ſatisfy our own. Their reigning laws and cuſtoms were well known to themſelves, and they ſuppoſed, that thoſe laws and cuſtoms muſt be as familiarly known and underſtood by their ſucceſſors. From hence it is, that we remain ignorant at this day of ſo many circumſtances relating to antiquity; though we are perpetually prying into every branch of that kind of knowledge, and re-

[y] [*Quinquaginta millia denarium*] Fifty thouſand denarii are equal to 1614 *l.* 11 *s.* 8 *d.*

[z] [*Seſtertium decem millia*] Ten thouſand ſeſterces are equal to 80 *l.* 14 *s.* 7 *d.*

joiced

joiced at every ſtep we make in it. This letter therefore muſt afford great pleaſure, as it comprehends a very ample deſcription of the Roman ſenate, and is alſo filled with many general remarks and obſervations applicable to any ſenate whatever: but there are ſeveral obſcurities in it, occaſioned by the diſtance of time, and the difference between the Roman laws, and thoſe of our own nation; which will require, and I hope excuſe, the length of the following notes.

MARIUS PRISCUS *omiſsâ defenſione judices petiit*: "MARIUS PRISCUS quitting any defence from the accuſation "preferred againſt him, acknowledging it to be true, demanded judges." This, without an explanation, is extremely dark; it may be thus interpreted: MARIUS PRISCUS knew himſelf to be guilty: his accuſation had been brought before the ſenate; it was made out very fully againſt him; and he now petitioned the ſenate, that they would hear what his council had to offer in his favour, and that they would appoint judges to aſcertain what puniſhment he ought to undergo.

The crimes, of which MARIUS ſtood accuſed, were corruption and bribery, attended with the cruel circumſtances of baniſhing, impriſoning, and putting to death innocent perſons for money. The Roman laws againſt bribery were various: in civil caſes it was puniſhed by baniſhment, and by confiſcation of eſtate, and ſometimes by confiſcation to reſtore four-fold; ſo that, as circumſtances altered, it might be proper to appoint judges, though the criminal confeſſed the fact, to conſider of a puniſhment equal to the offence. But bribery was capital, if the bribe was received by a proconſul, or governor, to put an innocent man to death. MARIUS had been guilty of that crime: and therefore PLINY and his collegue TACITUS poſitively aſſert, *Exceſſiſſe immanitate et ſævitiâ crimina, quibus dari judices poſſent*: "That "he had exceeded by his inhumanity and cruelty all doubt "as to his puniſhments, in which the laws were fixed and "aſcertained; and no judges could deviate from thoſe laws." This ſeems to appear ſtill plainer by the behaviour of his advocate FRONTO CATIUS, who does not attempt to deny any article of the accuſation, but in a moving manner tries to ſoften the puniſhment.

And what follows confirms this, *Aliis cognitionem ſenatus lege concluſam, aliis liberam ſolutamque dicentibus*: "Some "were of opinion, that ſince he was guilty, the law had "appointed the puniſhment of that guilt, and the ſenate

"was

" was to acquieſce in that law; while others inſiſted, that " the ſenate was free and uncircumſcribed, and therefore " might judge what penalties to inflict upon him." The ſenate, who at this time had all power, under the emperor, lodged in their own body, thought themſelves the proper court of judicature, to judge and determine every cauſe whatever; and therefore, they did not comply with what had been urged both by PLINY, and by TACITUS, but came into the opinion of JULIUS FEROX: *Qui* MARIO *judices cenſuit dandos:* " Who declared that MARIUS might " have judges appointed; but that the perſons, who had " given the bribe, being equally guilty with the proconſul, " who had received it, ought to be ſummoned before the " ſenate." Accordingly MARIUS, HONORATUS, and MARCIANUS were ordered to appear. Their crimes are of ſo black a nature, and ſo much to the diſgrace of the human ſpecies, that at the ſame time we entertain the higheſt ideas of the grandeur and majeſty of that tribunal, before which the criminals were ſummoned, we muſt be ſurpriſed to find the puniſhments, allotted to ſuch outragious tranſgreſſions, by no means adequate to the barbarities proved and confeſſed.

A Roman knight was exiled, and ſeven of his friends were put to death, by order of MARIUS. Another Roman knight was beat with battoons, was condemned to work in the mines, and at laſt was ſtrangled in priſon, by order of the ſame MARIUS; and both theſe execrable acts were committed, when MARIUS was proconſul in *Africa*. For the firſt murder, he received three hundred thouſand ſeſterces from VITELLIUS HONORATUS; for the ſecond, ſeven hundred thouſand ſeſterces from FLAVIUS MARCIANUS.

HONORATUS died before the day of trial: but MARCIANUS, who had wickedly bribed MARIUS PRISCUS to iſſue forth his ſanguinary commands, was deemed *particeps criminis*, " a partner in the crime," and equally guilty with PRISCUS.

From hence PLINY very juſtly concludes, that their offences left no room for mercy: and therefore ſays, with his uſual good-nature, ſpeaking of MARIUS PRISCUS, *Erat ergo perquam oneroſum accuſare damnatum; quem ut premebat atrocitas criminis, ita quaſi peractæ damnationis miſeratio tuebatur:* " I was under ſome uneaſineſs to accuſe a man, who " I knew had already forfeited his life; and I lamented his " condition,

" condition, whilſt I applauded the juſtice of his condem-
" nation."

The ſenatorial decrees, given againſt MARIUS and MARCIANUS, run thus: " That MARIUS ſhould pay into the " public treaſury the ſeven hundred thouſand ſeſterces, which " he had received as a bribe; and that he ſhould be inter- " dicted the city of *Rome*, and the confines of *Italy*: The " ſame baniſhment to be pronounced againſt MARCIANUS, " with an additional interdiction from *Africa*."

JUVENAL tells us, that even this ſentence, gentle as it is, was not put in execution. MARIUS was baniſhed, but his money was baniſhed with him. The lines are theſe,

Damnatus inani
Judicio; quid enim ſalvis infamia nummis?
Exul ab octavâ MARIUS *bibit, et fruitur Diis*
Iratis: at tu victrix provincia ploras [a].

MARIUS, who pill'd his province, ſcapes the laws,
And keeps his money, tho' he loſt his cauſe:
His fine begg'd off, contemns his infamy,
Can riſe at twelve, and get him drunk e'er three:
Enjoys his exile, and, condemn'd in vain,
Leaves thee, prevailing province! to complain [b].

It is to be wiſhed, that PLINY had mentioned the arguments of the lawyers, as well as their names, in this extraordinary cauſe. We might then have gueſſed the reaſons, that induced the ſenate to allot ſuch mild puniſhments to ſuch enormous villainies. Could the *patres conſcripti* forget, that MARIUS was guilty of homicide? Of homicide under the form of juſtice? Could they forget, that MARCIANUS hired him to commit the murder? Could they be ignorant of the laws made for the puniſhment of ſuch malefactors? Certainly they could not. Whence then did this indulgence ariſe? It muſt have prevailed either from a wicked favour for the criminals, or a proud opinion of their own power to leap over all bounds of equity and law.

After what has been already obſerved upon this epiſtle, it is impoſſible to agree with our author, that the trial of MA-

[a] JUVENAL. Satir. 1. v. 47. [b] DRYDEN.

RIUS PRISCUS was, *ſeveritate exempli ſalubre*, "advanta-
"geous by the ſeverity of the example."

EPISTLE XII.

PLINY *to* ARRIANUS.

WE have finiſhed the public enquiry ſubſequent to the trial of MARIUS PRISCUS, which I mentioned to you in my laſt. The perfumer FIRMINUS is ſhaved, whether cloſe enough or not, I cannot tell. He was brought before the ſenate, and defended himſelf in the manner of a perſon already found guilty. The opinions of the conſuls elect were divided. CORNUTUS TERTULLUS moved to degrade him from the rank of ſenator: ACUTIUS NERVA moved to have him only rendered incapable of governing any province. This, as the ſofter judgement, prevailed; but in reality was the heavier and ſeverer ſentence: for what can be more miſerable, than to be cut off from all honours ariſing from the ſenate, yet not exempted from the labours and difficulties conſequential to an attendance there? What can be more unhappy, than to receive ſo public an ignominy, and not be ſuffered to withdraw from the ſight of mankind: but on the contrary, to be placed in the moſt conſpicuous point of light, only to be ſtared and pointed at by the people? Or what can appear in the view of the world leſs conſiſtent, or leſs honourable, than to ſit as a ſenator, yet branded and marked by the ſenate? To have a power of condemning, equal with thoſe, by whom a man has been condemned? To be incapacitated from acting as proconſul, merely from having been infamous as lieutenant of a province; and yet to have a ſeat among the judges of proconſuls? To be found guilty of bribery, and yet capable of condemning, or abſolving others of that crime? However, this reſolution

lution found favour with the majority: for votes are numbered, not weighed. Such muſt be the proceedings in public counſels: though nothing ſure can be more unequal, than the equality of power; giving the ſame right of judging to a ſet of people, whoſe faculties are ſo extremely different and unlike.

I have fulfilled my promiſe, and have acquitted myſelf of the engagement entered into in my firſt letter; which, by computing the time when I wrote it, I ſuppoſe you have received; eſpecially, as I ſent it by a very ſpeedy and a very truſty meſſenger, unleſs he met with ſome accidental ſtop in his way. It is your part now to requite me with an anſwer, firſt to that letter, and then to this; and let your anſwers be as copious as poſſible. Farewell.

OBSERVATIONS.

This twelfth epiſtle gives an account of the judgement paſſed upon HOSTILIUS FIRMINUS. During the courſe of the trial mentioned in the laſt epiſtle, it appeared from ſome of the arguments uſed in favour of MARCIANUS, that FIRMINUS had been equally guilty of bribery with his maſter MARIUS PRISCUS. He had aſſiſted PRISCUS, during his proconſulſhip in *Africa*, as an under agent in all acts of baſeneſs and cruelty. He had bargained with MARCIANUS for fifty thouſand denarii, to indulge him in his inſatiate revenge upon a Roman knight, whoſe name is not given to us in this letter. He had alſo received ten thouſand ſeſterces, it does not appear for what villainy, under the denomination of perfumer to the proconſul; a title, ſays our author, agreeable to the character of ſo compleat a coxcomb.

The particulars of the trial are paſſed over; but it is plain, that HOSTILIUS FIRMINUS was found guilty; becauſe the whole debate turned upon what puniſhments he ought to ſuffer. It is probable his defence was not a denial of the facts, but an excuſe for doing them. He alledged, that he was only ſervant to MARIUS, and acted under his orders, and in obedience to his commands. But it is impoſſible to gueſs, by what motives the ſenate pretended to be induced, in their decree againſt FIRMINUS. Why was he not con-

demned to refund the ten thouſand ſeſterces he had received? Why was he not baniſhed, and ſent to keep company with his wicked maſter? By what precedent was ſo ſlight a puniſhment inflicted upon him? Or why was a man, manifeſtly convicted of corruption, ſtill allowed to ſit as a judge? The only anſwer to be given to theſe queſtions is, that the Roman people, and the ſenate in particular, were at this time ſo abandoned in their morals, and ſo loſt to all ſenſe of honour, religion, and juſtice, that they acted on no other principles, than the dictates of bribery and vice.

EPISTLE XIII.

PLINY *to* PRISCUS.

YOU are induſtriouſly taking every occaſion to oblige me: and I receive obligations with more pleaſure from you, than from any man in the world. Theſe two reaſons have determined me to ſolicit you in an affair, which I have moſt earneſtly at heart.

You have the command of a great army, and have thereby frequent opportunities of conferring benefits: beſides, you have now had it long in your power to beſtow favours upon all your own friends. Turn then a little of that power towards mine; they are not many: your generoſity might wiſh them numerous; but my modeſty ſuffers me to name but one or two; nay, I ſhould rather ſay but one: he is VOCONIUS ROMANUS. His father was one of the moſt eminent men in the equeſtrian order: his father-in-law, I may call him indeed his ſecond father, ſince VOCONIUS has ſucceeded to his name, as well as his virtues, was ſtill more eminent: His mother a lady of the firſt diſtinction in the higher *Spain* [c]. The people in that province, you know, are remarkable for their underſtanding and diſcretion. He himſelf has been lately high-prieſt of JUPITER. But, from

[c] *Hiſpania Tarraconenſis*, containing now *Galicia*, *Navarre*, *Caſtile*, and *Arragon*.

the

the time we were firſt ſtudents together, I have loved him moſt nearly and familiarly. The ſame chamber held us in town, and in the country; and to him I dedicated both my ſerious and my mirthful hours: for a more faithful friend, or a more chearful companion is no where to be found. There is a wonderful ſweetneſs in his converſation, and the ſame ſweetneſs diſplays itſelf in his countenance and addreſs. His genius is lofty, quick, elegant, eaſy, and particularly bright in pleading cauſes. His familiar letters ſeem dictated by the Muſes. His extraordinary affection for me is equal to my affection for him. When we were young men, I was very deſirous to do him ſervice; and I have lately obtained for him, from our moſt gracious emperor, the *jus trium liberorum*. A grant, which though the emperor has always beſtowed very ſparingly, and with great caution, yet he has indulged me in it, in ſuch a manner, as made the choice ſeem his own. How therefore can I better juſtify the benefits I have already procured for my friend, than by adding to them? eſpecially as he, for whom they are obtained, receives them with gratitude ſufficient to merit any addition.

I have now given you the character of VOCONIUS, and I have told you how much I love and admire him. Let me entreat you therefore, to employ your whole thoughts, as well as your whole power, to promote him. But above all things, honour him with your love: for though you may go as far as poſſibly you can in heaping preferments upon him, you will never be able to give him any of greater value than your friendſhip: and that you may be aſſured he is a man proper to be admitted into your intimacy, I have here run through his ſtudies, his morals, and his whole life. I would add to my entreaties in his favour, if I did not believe an importunate requeſt was diſagreeable to you, although at the ſame time I muſt own, I have importuned you in this

epiſtle. However, he aſks a favour with the beſt grace, who gives a good reaſon for what he aſks. Farewell.

OBSERVATIONS.

PLINY has left nothing to be added to the character of VOCONIUS ROMANUS. He has deſcribed him as a man,

> In arts and manners eminently grac'd,
> The ſtricteſt morals, and the fineſt taſte [d].

He was the boſom friend and hourly companion of our author, who "[e] the friends he had, and their adoption tried, "grappled them to his ſoul with hooks of ſteel."

But to take notice of ſome particulars in this epiſtle. *Flamen proxime fuit.* AULUS GELLIUS, and ſeveral other authors, give us a very exact account of the Flamen Dialis, or high prieſt of JUPITER, of the various ceremonies at his conſecration, of the rights he enjoyed, and of the particular reſtrictions, to which he was obliged to ſubmit. Some of theſe laſt were idly ſuperſtitious. He was neither to name, nor touch raw meat, a ſhe goat, or beans: he was not to be ſhaved, nor to have his hair cut, except by a freedman, and then only with brazen ſciſſors: and the paring of his nails were to be buried under a tree. The Flamen Dialis was a ſacred poſt of great dignity and honour; beſtowed always upon patricians, whoſe characters, and families, were eminent. JULIUS CÆSAR had enjoyed it at the age of ſeventeen. The Flamen Dialis was obliged to quit his prieſthood at the death of his wife. *Uxorem ſi amiſit, flaminio decedit.* ROMANUS died in the reign of the emperor ADRIAN, and this epiſtle was written in the reign of TRAJAN, to whom PLINY confirms, in the tenth [f] book of his epiſtles, what he ſays here of VOCONIUS.

Ab optimo principe trium liberorum ei jus impetravi. It ſeems, by this expreſſion, as if PLINY had obtained for ROMANUS the privileges, which were granted by the Pappian law to ſuch Romans, who had three children. Vo-

[d] Doctor YOUNG. [e] SHAKESPEARE. [f] Vide Book 10. Epiſtle 3.

CONIUS

CONIUS had not that number, but the emperor, in whom all power was centered and confirmed, could allow thoſe rights and benefits to whomſoever he thought fit: and we ſhall find, though he was very tenacious of public honours, he ſcarce ever denied PLINY any requeſt. [f] *Trium liberorum jus inter præmia fuit, quæ, lege Pappiâ, maritis patribuſque decreta fuerunt, cujus hæc erat vis, ut in petitione magiſtratus præferrentur candidati, quibus plures liberi eſſent; item ut in ipſo magiſtratu præcederent tales; denique ut ante 25 annum ætatis contra legem annariam poſſunt admitti. Quæ beneficia non niſi in illis locum habebant, quibus terni liberi nati eſſent: quibus pauciores, excidebant:* "The advantages for having "three children were amongſt the rewards, which, by the "Pappian law, were decreed to huſbands, and fathers; the "benefit of which was, that the preference ſhould be given "to thoſe, who had moſt children, when they appeared as "candidates for the magiſtracy: and that when they were "made magiſtrates, they ſhould take place: and laſtly, "that before the twenty fifth year of their age, they might "be admitted to that honour, notwithſtanding the *lex an-*"*naria*. Theſe benefits were only conferred upon thoſe, "who had three children; nor were thoſe, who had leſs, "entitled to ſuch dignities."

The ſubject of this epiſtle recals to us the addreſs from HORACE to TIBERIUS CÆSAR, beginning,

> SEPTIMIUS, CLAUDI, *nimirum intelligit unus*
> *Quanti me facias* [g].
>
> "SEPTIMIUS only knows, how great a part
> "I ſhare in your affections, and your heart.

[f] ROSINUS gives us the following account of the Pappian law. *De jure patronatus extat lex Pappia, quam tulit* M. PAPPIUS MUTILUS *cos. cum* Q. POPPÆO AUGUSTI *temporibus. Ut ex bonis ejus, qui H. S.* * *centum millium patrimonium reliquerat, et pauciores quam tres liberos habebat, ſive in teſtamento facto, ſive inteſtatus mortuus erat, virilis pars patrono deberetur. Itaque cum unum quidem filium hæredem reliquerat libertus, perinde pars media debebatur patrono, ac ſi is ſine ullo filio, filiave inteſtatus deceſſiſſet: cum vero duos duaſve hæredes reliquerat, tertia pars debebatur patrono, ſi tres reliquerat, repellabatur patronus. Item, ut libertus, qui duos liberos in poteſtate haberet, operarum obligatione liberaretur.*

[g] HORACE, Ep. 9. Book 1.

* Seſtertiûm.

The one is in proſe, what the other is in verſe, a genteel, but warm recommendation of a beloved friend.

PLINY conſtantly concludes his epiſtles with ſome elegant turn, or ſome agreeable obſervation, which reſts upon the mind, and at the ſame time ſets off whatever went before it. His letters carry with them the poignancy of an epigram, and, like obeliſks, ſtand upon a ſolid baſis, and riſe in due proportion, till they end in a point at laſt. The latter part of this particular epiſtle is extremely delicate and unaffected, and the beginning of it perfectly polite and engaging; ſo that the whole may be eſteemed, as a model in this kind of writing, and a pattern in what manner to make a requeſt, and to purſue a recommendation.

EPISTLE XIV.

PLINY *to* MAXIMUS.

YOU judge very rightly: my whole time is taken up in pleading cauſes before the *centumviri*; cauſes, which rather keep me employed, than pleaſed: many of them are trifling, and many belong to low obſcure people. It ſeldom happens, that any proceſs is remarkable, either by the dignity of the perſons concerned, or the importance of the buſineſs. Beſides, few lawyers, with whom one would wiſh to be aſſociated, appear in theſe courts: and really the reſt are a parcel of bold, and for the moſt part unknown young men, who come thither to declaim, but with ſuch indecency, and ſuch a want of experience, that our countryman ATTILIUS ſeems to have deſcribed them exactly, where he ſays, "Young "lawyers begin in the forum with cauſes before the "*centumviri*, as young ſcholars begin in the ſchools "with reading HOMER:" for in both thoſe places, what is moſt difficult, is begun firſt.

I cannot ſay, it is within my memory, but I have been told by people older than myſelf, that no young men, even of the firſt quality, were allowed a place in

in the forum, unleſs they were introduced by one of conſular dignity. In ſuch veneration was then held this moſt excellent inſtitution. At preſent all boundaries of modeſty and reverence are broken down; and all places lie open to all people: men are not introduced, but they break in; and the audiences, upon theſe occaſions, are exactly ſuited to the orators. They are mercenary wretches, hired for the purpoſe: they meet in the courts of juſtice, where they are treated at the expence of their patrons, as publicly, as if a court of juſtice was a dining room: and thus bribed they go from court to court. And therefore they are called by the Greeks, not improperly, Σοφοκλεῖς, or, to tranſlate it into latin, *Laudicæni* [h], applauders for a ſupper. And yet the infamy, expreſſed by the name in both languages, encreaſes every day. No longer ago than yeſterday, two of my ſervants, young men about the age of ſeventeen, were enticed to act the part of applauders, for the ſake of a bribe amounting to about three *denarii* [i]. You ſee exactly how much it coſts to be reputed eloquent. You ſee the price, which is ſufficient to fill the benches of the forum, and to procure a crouded audience; the price to purchaſe the loudeſt peals of applauſe, whenſoever a certain ſign is given by the perſon placed in the middle for that purpoſe. A ſign, you know, is abſolutely neceſſary for people, who neither underſtand, nor hear what is doing; for there are many at too great a diſtance to hear one word, and thoſe are always loudeſt in applauſe. If when you are paſſing through the courts of judicature, you are deſirous to know how any particular perſon has performed, you need neither go upon the bench, nor liſten to what he ſays: you may eaſily

[h] Perſons who are hired for a ſupper to praiſe thoſe, who entertain them; vulgarly called in Engliſh, trencher friends.

[i] [*Terni denarii.*] Three denarii are equal in Engliſh money to 1 *s.* 11 *d.* $\frac{1}{4}$. a denarius being 7 *d.* $\frac{3}{4}$.

gueſs

gueſs without much trouble; for be aſſured, that he, who is moſt applauded, ſpeaks worſt. LARGIUS LICINIUS firſt introduced this cuſtom, merely that he might get an audience; and I remember to have heard my preceptor QUINTILIAN tell a ſtory of him almoſt in theſe words: "I attended DOMITIUS AFER, when "he pleaded before the *centumviri*: his manner was "always ſolemn and deliberate. On a ſudden he "heard a moſt ſtrange and outragious noiſe in the "adjoining court; and being ſurpriſed, he left off "ſpeaking: when the noiſe was over, he reſumed "the thread of his diſcourſe. The noiſe beginning "again, he held his peace a ſecond time, and ſo a "third. At laſt he aſked, who was declaiming there, "to occaſion all this clamour? He was anſwered, "LICINIUS. Whereupon, quitting the ſubject of "his diſcourſe, he addreſſed himſelf to the court, "and ſaid, Centumvirs! the art of eloquence is now "at an end." AFER was in the wrong; it begun to decline, but it did not entirely periſh then: the utter demolition of that art was reſerved for theſe times. I am really aſhamed to tell you what effeminate orations we hear, and what ſoft tinkling of applauſes attend them. The clapping of hands, or rather the cymbals, and the timbrels, are the only muſic wanting to theſe ſing-ſong choruſſes: but the howlings, for a ſofter word cannot expreſs theſe ſort of applauſes, indecent even in the theatres, abound in great plenty. Nevertheleſs the ſervice of my friends, and my own age, retain and ſtop me here yet a while: and, I am afraid, if I ſhould go off too abruptly, it would ſeem as if I ran away from the fatigues, not from the indecorum of the place: however, I appear ſeldomer than uſual, and ſo begin to withdraw myſelf by degrees. Farewell.

OBSER-

OBSERVATIONS.

Impudence in all ſhapes, and at all ages, is diſagreable, and ſhocking. In young people, it diſcovers an exceſs of vanity; in old, a great want of underſtanding. Diffidence and modeſty are the offſprings of ſenſe and experience; and where they are not innate, they ought to be acquired, as the moſt advantageous leſſon, that can be learnt, and the beſt maſk, that can be worn, to hide deformity. The character of PLINY is the very contraſt of forwardneſs and conceit; and we ſee him in this epiſtle, under the utmoſt uneaſineſs at being obliged to appear in a court, where noiſe and folly, joined and enforced by youth and inexperience, had deſtroyed all decency, and overturned all order. He paints this ſcene in a very ample manner: he deſcribes a parcel of pert young coxcombs, who not only break in upon the dignity of the place, and the authority of the judges, but hire a mercenary rabble, ſometimes for meat, and ſometimes for money, to applaud their vanity, and to thunderclap their nonſenſe. Popular applauſes are as ſoon loſt as purchaſed: but ſo fond are we, eſpecially in our early days, of fame, that we will buy it at any rate, and when we cannot reach the ſubſtance, will be humbly content with the ſhadow; not conſidering, that the ſilent nod, and calm approbation of one man of ſenſe, is worth the loudeſt clamours, and moſt outragious praiſes of all the Σοφοκλεῖς, or *Laudicæni* in the world. The moſt finiſhed original of theſe ſoothing miſcreants may be ſeen in the character of GNATHO, as it is drawn by TERENCE in his *Eunuchus*. TERENCE is an author, who had ſo perfect a knowledge of mankind, that at this day his rules of flattery are followed by inſtinct in all the polite courts of *Europe*; and miniſters and lords are GNATHOS, without ever having heard of the name.

Sumus tamen ſolito rariores, quod initium eſt gradatim deſinendi: "But we are not ſo often ſeen there as uſual, "which is the firſt ſtep towards gradually leaving the "place." PLINY, who held the paraſites and all their practices in the utmoſt diſdain, was grown tired and uneaſy at pleading before the *centumviri:* their court was now no longer a ſeat of juſtice, but a den of knaves and fools; a ſanctuary for flatterers and their patrons; and therefore, our author reſolves to withdraw himſelf from amongſt them

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as ſoon as poſſible, but in ſo prudent a manner, as not to give the leaſt room for reproach.

EPISTLE XV.

PLINY *to* VALERIANUS.

TELL us, how does your *Marſian* eſtate pleaſe you, which you bought long ago? How do you like your new purchaſe? Are all theſe lands as fair in your eye, ſince they became your property, as they were before? For, to ſay truth, it ſeldom happens, that what is already poſſeſſed, proves ſo agreeable, as when it was only in wiſh and proſpect.

My mother's eſtate does not at all ſuit me in its ſituation: but it pleaſes me, becauſe it was hers. And now time and patience have accuſtomed, and hardened me to bear all the inconveniencies ariſing from it; for, by having had conſtant complaints to make, I am grown abſolutely aſhamed of complaining. Farewell.

OBSERVATIONS.

We ſee farther into the characters of men, from their familiar letters, than from any other part of their writings. Expreſſions flow, *currente calamo*, that riſe immediately and undiſguiſed from the heart. A knave will be ſooner diſcovered by his correſpondence, than by his converſation: in ſpite of himſelf he will appear there in his proper colours: as on the other hand, a man of virtue, like PLINY, will diſplay a thouſand beauties in his epiſtles, which ruſh from him unpremeditated and without deſign. It is therefore from trifling unguarded expreſſions, that we may form our juſteſt ideas of epiſtolary authors; and PLINY in this letter, after having agreeably rallied the eagerneſs of mankind in deſiring what they have not, and in being tired with what they have, ſhews his filial piety in an inſtance, that muſt not paſs unnoticed. *Me prædia materna parum commode tractant: delectant tamen ut materna:* "The lands, "which

" which were my mother's, are not ſituated in the place I " could wiſh; nay, they are inconvenient: but as they once " belonged to her, I am reſolved not to exchange them " even for a more eligible ſituation."

When we diſcover, as in this caſe, inſtances of a dutiful and laſting reſpect to parents, they cannot fail to meet with our approbation. The gratitude we owe to thoſe, who, by the will of God, are made the authors of our being, can only end with our lives. It ceaſes not with theirs: the duty we pay to their name when dead, ought to be the ſame, as to their inclinations and commands when living. Their memory ought to be ever honoured, ever ſacred, and ever glorious in our eye; and what was dear to them, ſhould be eſteemed and beloved by us.

Among the many criticiſms, written upon HOMER and VIRGIL, and the many parallels, drawn betwixt the heroes of each poet, we find the piety of ÆNEAS often cenſured, as too languid for the principal feature in the picture of that prince. I apprehend this remark to have been built on no very juſt foundation: for if virtue can inſpire fortitude, as ſhe certainly does, filial piety is the firſt and greateſt of all virtues, and it is from thence the noble qualities of ÆNEAS take their origin. It is from thence his tenderneſs to his ſon, his affection to his friends, and his compaſſion to his enemies ariſe. The two chiefs, ÆNEAS and ACHILLES, are both magnanimous, but in a different manner: the one conquers with the heat of rage, and the thirſt of war; the other overcomes with the calmneſs of juſtice, and the reſolution of a ſoul at peace within itſelf. We may poſſibly tremble at the ſon of PELEUS; but we ſhall certainly love the ſon of ANCHISES; or, to conſider the Iliad and the Æneid together, we ſhall find, that HOMER animates the ſpirits, and fires the head; but we ſhall feel, that VIRGIL melts the heart, and captivates the affections: nor do equal emotions of ſoftneſs and humanity fluctuate in our boſoms, while we read the Grecian, as while we read the Roman poet; unleſs at the parting of ANDROMACHE and her huſband, or where ACHILLES gives back to PRIAM the body of HECTOR: and in this laſt inſtance we muſt obſerve, that ACHILLES is melted into compaſſion, and loſes the inexorable diſpoſition of his nature, at the mention of his father's name [k].

[k] Homer. Iliad. 24. ℣. 486. See Mr. POPE's tranſlation of this paſſage, and his notes upon it.

HOMER

HOMER and VIRGIL are a ſufficient excuſe for being led out of the way farther, than was at firſt intended: but to return to PLINY, the reader will remember, that in the fourth epiſtle of this book, our author tells CALVINA, his revenue is extenuated by the untoward ſituation of his eſtate. [1] *Reditus propter conditionem agrorum neſcio minor an incertior:* "My rents at beſt are but ſmall, and the payment "of them ſo uncertain, by the ſterility of the land, ſituated "in a very unfruitful country, that the little I ought to re-"ceive is ſtill made leſs." Theſe were his lands in the *Larian* territories, where the ſoil was extremely barren: but in pious regard to the memory of his mother, he rather chuſes an uncertain income, than to part with an eſtate, which had belonged to his anceſtors.

[1] See Book 2. Epiſtle 4.

EPISTLE XVI.

PLINY *to* ANNIANUS.

WITH your uſual attention to my affairs, you admoniſh me not to look upon the codicils of ACILIANUS, who has appointed me his heir *ex parte*, as legal; becauſe they are not confirmed by the will itſelf. This is a point of law, with which I am very well acquainted: and it is known even by thoſe, who know little elſe. But I have always laid it down as a rule to myſelf, never to diſobey the will of the dead; but to act under every will, though it ſhould be defective in point of form, as if it had been perfected and valid. However, the codicils were all written by ACILIANUS's own hand; and though they are not confirmed by the will itſelf, they ought to be looked upon by me, in the ſame light as if they needed no ſuch authority; eſpecially, as there is no room for an information to be lodged againſt me. If indeed there was any danger, that what I gave away, would be forfeited to the public, I ought to act with leſs haſte, and with more caution: but,

but, when it is entirely in the power of an heir to diſpoſe of whatever falls to him by inheritance, I am under no neceſſity to break through my own private rule, ſince it is not repugnant to any public inſtitution. Farewell.

OBSERVATIONS.

The Roman laws required, that a teſtator ſhould mention the power, reſerved to him by law, of making a codicil to his laſt will in the will itſelf; otherwiſe the codicil could be of no validity. It appears by this letter that ACILIANUS had forgotten in his will, to make that reſervation, although he had written the codicils with his own hand: but PLINY, with the utmoſt juſtice and generoſity, deſpiſes forms, where he can ſafely fulfil the intentions of the dead. A paraphraſe upon the whole letter may ſet this act of diſintereſted friendſhip in the beſt point of view.

"It is extremely kind in you, ſays our author, to put me "in mind of that part of our law, which renders the codi- "cil to ACILIANUS's will invalid, and of no effect. I al- "low your obſervation to be very juſt, nay every ſtripling "at the bar knows it to be ſo. The laws of the public, I "confeſs, are againſt me; but the laws of uprightneſs, juſ- "tice, and gratitude, laws ſuperior to all others, and deeply "imprinted in my own breaſt, will defend and ſupport me "before God and man. The will of the dead, according "to my way of thinking, ought to be obeyed, and their "deſires literally fulfilled: therefore no defect in legal forms, "no flaw or imperfection in a laſt will, ſhall ever hinder "me from acting as I ought: my ſoul, I thank heaven, "ſoars above ſuch trifling ceremonies; and when once I "know the deſign of a deceaſed friend, it ſhall infallibly be "executed by me, to the utmoſt of my power. Beſides, "are not the codicils written with ACILIANUS's own hand? "Can I doubt then of his intentions? Certainly I cannot. "And ſince he has pointed out to me the path I am to tread "in, I am reſolved to walk ſtraight to the point he had in "view, without turning on one ſide, or on the other.

"As the wiſdom and goodneſs of our emperor [m] has ba- "niſhed thoſe foes to mankind, thoſe peſts of human ſo-

[m] TRAJAN.

"ciety,

"ciety, the informers [n], I am not apprehenſive of having "an information lodged againſt me for acting contrary to "law; and as I am left a joint heir, I can divide my ſhare "of the fortune among the more immediate relations of "ACILIANUS. I dare ſay, he named me for this purpoſe: "he was well aſſured, that I ſhould keep up to the full "meaning of his intentions, and ſhould prove a father to "his family, after he himſelf was reduced to aſhes, and "mingled with the worms. His hopes of me ſhall not be un-"accompliſhed. I will be heir to his virtues, but not to his "eſtate. Indeed were I nominated his ſole heir, I ought "to be very tenacious of whatever was bequeathed to me, "becauſe in that caſe, ſhould I give up my hereditary right, "the fortune of my friend, for want of heirs, would de-"volve to the public: but here let me act how I will, the "people can have no pretence to put in their claim: ACI-"LIANUS has many heirs beſides me; and as the private "law, which I have eſtabliſhed in my own boſom, is not "repugnant to any public law in being, I may certainly in-"dulge the dictates of my conſcience, and proceed, as be-"comes a man, who thinks himſelf accountable for all his "actions, on this ſide of the grave."

[n] See PLINY's panegyric, chap. 34.

EPISTLE XVII.

PLINY *to* GALLUS.

YOU wonder, why I am ſo infinitely fond of my LAURENTINUM, or, if you had rather call it ſo, my LAURENS. I dare ſay, your wonder will ceaſe, when I make you acquainted with the beauties of the villa, the ſituation of the place, and the large extent of the ſhore, upon which it ſtands.

The diſtance is ſeventeen miles from *Rome* [o]: a diſtance, which allows us, after we have finiſhed the

[o] The Roman miles were diſtinguiſhed by ſtones put up at the end of each mile, marked with figures according to their diſtance from *Rome*.

buſineſs

buſineſs of the day, to return thither from town, with the ſetting ſun. We are not confined to one road; for both the Laurentine, and the Oſtian way will bring us home. If you go the Laurentine, you muſt quit the high road at the fourteenth ſtone: if the Oſtian, at the eleventh. Each of theſe roads is ſandy, and therefore a little tedious and heavy in a wheel carriage, but on horſeback extremely ſhort and pleaſant. The proſpects on every ſide are finely diverſified; ſometimes your view is limited by woods; then again is opened and extended by ſpacious meadows. Here, you ſee flocks of ſheep; there, ſtuds of horſes and herds of cattle; all driven down from the mountains by the inclemency of the winter, and growing fat and ſleek by the paſturage, and the warmth of the ſpring.

The houſe itſelf is made for uſe, not for parade. In the front you enter a court-yard, plain and void of ornament, but handſome. This leads to a little neat court in the ſhape of the letter O, ſurrounded by galleries, an abſolute ſhelter againſt all ſtorms; being well defended, both by the tranſparent windows of the houſe, and by the projecting roof above. Overagainſt the middle portico is a large chearful court, leading to a very handſome dining room, which projects towards the ſea-ſhore; and the walls of it are gently waſhed by the waves of the ſea, whenever the ſouth-weſterly wind drives them in upon the land. Every ſide of the room has either folding doors, or windows, as large as doors; ſo that from the ſides and from the front you have the proſpect, as it were, of three different oceans. Behind is a quadrangle, a portico, and a leſſer court; then again a portico, and then a veſtible, beyond which woods are ſeen, and at a greater diſtance mountains. On the left hand of the dining room, a little farther from the ſhore, is a very large parlour[P]: within

[P] *Cubiculum*, though in the general acceptation of the word ſignifying a bed-chamber, is often made uſe of as a name common to other rooms, and with that liberty is here tranſlated.

that a ſmaller withdrawing room, which has one window looking to the eaſt, another to the weſt. From the weſtern window you have a proſpect of the ſea, more diſtant indeed, but more agreeable. There is an angle formed between the dining room and parlour, that collects the rays, and augments the heat of the warmeſt ſun. Here I have my winter apartments: and here is the place of exerciſe for my ſervants. Not a breath of wind is ſtirring here, except now and then a blaſt, which brings a cloud upon us; but it clears up again, before the warmth is gone off from the place. Joining to this angle is a room in an elliptic form: a ſhape, that allows us from the ſeveral windows to enjoy the benefit of the ſun during the whole courſe of the day; and the walls of it are ſo contrived, as to hold books, and be a kind of library for ſuch volumes, as are rather deſigned for amuſement than ſtudy. Next this, a paſſage only intervening, is a bed-chamber: the paſſage is raiſed and boarded in ſuch a manner, that the heat it receives is moſt equally diſpenſed and diſtributed throughout every part of it. The remaining part of this ſide of the houſe is deſtined for ſervants and freedmen: but ſome of the apartments are ſo neatly fitted up, that they may be filled upon occaſion by gueſts of a much higher rank. On the other ſide is a moſt elegant bed-chamber, and next to that, what you may either call a large bed-chamber, or a moderate eating room, enlivened both by the ſun, and by the ſea. After this, you enter into another bed-chamber with a lobby before it. The height makes it cool in ſummer; the thick walls make it warm in winter; for it is abſolutely withdrawn from the inclemencies of every wind. There is another bed-chamber and lobby joined to it by a partition-wall. Then you come to the baths.

The cold bath is very wide and ſpacious. On the oppoſite walls are fixed two bathing ciſterns, that jet

out

out into the room, and are made large enough to ſwim in. Contiguous to which are the chambers for the uſe of the bath, particularly the room where the different oils are kept, another for the ſtoves, another for the furnace; then two little baths, which are rather neat than ſumptuous: and to theſe is joined, by an exquiſite piece of workmanſhip, the hot bath; where, as you ſwim, you have a full proſpect of the ſea.

At no great diſtance is the tennis-court, ſo ſituated, as never to be annoyed by the heat, and to be viſited only by the ſetting ſun. At the end of the tennis-court riſes a tower, containing two rooms at the top of it, and two again under them; beſides a banquetting room, from whence there is a view of a very wide ocean, a very extenſive continent, and numberleſs beautiful villas interſperſed upon the ſhore. Anſwerable to this is another turret, containing on the top one ſingle room, where we enjoy both the riſing and the ſetting ſun. Underneath is a very large ſtore room for fruit, and a granary, and under theſe again a dining room, from whence, even when the ſea is moſt tempeſtuous, we only hear the roaring of it, and that but languidly, and at a diſtance. It looks upon the garden, and the place for exerciſe [g], which includes my garden. The whole is encompaſſed with box; and where that is wanting, with roſemary: for box, when ſheltered by buildings, will flouriſh very well, but withers immediately if expoſed to wind and weather; or ever ſo diſtantly affected by the moiſt dews from the ſea. This place for exerciſe ſurrounds a delicate ſhady vineyard, the paths of which are eaſy and ſoft, even to the naked feet.

The garden is filled with mulberry and fig trees; the ſoil being propitious to both thoſe kinds of trees,

[g] *Geſtatio.* This is ſcarce to be tranſlated into Engliſh, by any one word. It is mentioned by PLINY in other epiſtles, and always ſignifies, *a place of exerciſe.*

but ſcarce to any other. A dining room, too remote to view the ocean, commands an object no leſs agreeable, the proſpect of the garden: and at the back of the dining room are two apartments, whoſe windows look upon the veſtible of the houſe; and upon a fruitery, and kitchin garden. From hence you enter into a covered gallery, large enough to appear a public work. The gallery has a double row of windows on both ſides; in the lower row are ſeveral, which look towards the ſea; and one on each ſide towards the garden; in the upper row there are fewer: in calm days, when there is not a breath of air ſtirring, we open all the windows: but in windy weather, we take the advantage of opening that ſide only, which is entirely free from the hurricane. Before the gallery lies a terrace perfumed with violets. The building not only retains the heat of the ſun, and encreaſes it by reflexion, but defends and protects us from the northern blaſts; and as the front is always warm, the back part, in like manner, is equally cool. It is ſo contrived, that we are entirely ſheltered from the violent heats of the ſouth-weſt; and indeed let the wind blow from what corner it will, the influence and power of it are broken and deſtroyed by the poſition of the gallery: and therefore we find it a very pleaſant room in winter, and much more ſo in ſummer: for then the ſhadow of the building is thrown upon the terrace in the forenoon; and in the afternoon we can walk under the ſhade of it in the place of exerciſe, or in that part of the garden next to it: the ſhade lengthning and decreaſing according to the length or decreaſe of the day. But the gallery itſelf is never cooler, than when the ſun ſhines perpendicularly upon the roof of it. Add to this, that by opening the windows we have a thorough draught of the weſt wind, which prevents all bad effects ariſing from the ſtagnation of unwholeſom air.

At

At the end of the terrace, adjoining to the gallery, is a little garden-apartment, which I own is my delight. In truth it is my miſtreſs: I built it; and in it is a particular kind of hot-houſe [r], which looks on one ſide towards the terrace, on the other towards the ſea; but on both ſides has the advantage of the ſun. A double door opens into another room, and one of the windows has a full view of the gallery. On the ſide next the ſea, overagainſt the middle wall, is an elegant little cloſet; ſeparated only by tranſparent windows, and a [s] curtain, which can be opened or ſhut at pleaſure, from the room juſt mentioned. It holds a bed and two chairs; the feet of the bed ſtands towards the ſea, the back towards the houſe, and one ſide of it towards ſome diſtant woods. So many different views, ſeen from ſo many different windows, diverſify, and yet blend the proſpect. Adjoining to this cabinet is my own conſtant bed-chamber: where I am never diſturbed by the diſcourſe of my ſervants, the murmurs of the ſea, nor the violence of a ſtorm. Neither lightning, nor day-light breaks in upon me, till my windows are opened. The reaſon of ſo perfect and undiſturbed a calm here ariſes from a large void ſpace, which is left between the walls of the bed-chamber and of the garden; ſo that all ſound is drowned in the intervening vacancy. Cloſe to the bed-chamber is a little ſtove, placed ſo near a ſmall window of communication, that it lets out or retains the heat juſt as we think fit.

[r] *Heliocaminus* is properly a *ſolarium*, which, in old Engliſh, is called a ſollar, a place raiſed and expoſed to the ſun. Monſieur *Felibien* tranſlates the *heliocaminus*, *Un ſalon fort echauffé par l'ardeur du ſoleil.* Scarce any word in our language anſwers it ſufficiently. The derivation comes from ἥλιος, the ſun, and κάμινος, a furnace.

[s] The tranſparent windows and curtain, ſpoken of in this place, were anſwerable to our glaſs doors between rooms: ſo that when they were thrown open, the cloſet was joined to the other room, and the bed ſtood, as it were, in an alcove.

From hence we paſs through a lobby into another room, which ſtands in ſuch a poſition as to receive the ſun, though obliquely, from day-break till paſt noon. When I ſhut myſelf up in this apartment, I ſeem to be encloſed at a great diſtance from my own houſe. The chief delight I take here is during the feaſts of Saturn, at a time when all the reſt of the houſe is filled with the clamours of the feſtival; for then I never interrupt the diverſions of my domeſtics, nor do they break in upon my ſtudies.

But amidſt all theſe conveniencies, and all this pleaſure, we want running water. However, we have wells, or rather ſprings at command: for ſuch is the wonderful nature of the ground, that in any part of the ſhore, take off the ſurface of the earth where you will, water immediately bubbles up, and preſents itſelf: and it is ſo perfectly pure, as not to have the leaſt briny taſte, though ſo near the ſea. The neighbouring woods yield us great plenty of fuel, and Oſtia furniſhes every kind of proviſion. A frugal man can be very well contented with what a ſmall village affords; eſpecially when it is ſo near, as to be ſeparated from us only by one houſe. There are three inns in this little town, in each of which there is a bath; a very great conveniency, in caſe my bath at home is not ready heated and prepared; which may happen either by my too ſudden arrival, or my too ſhort ſtay. A great many little houſes, here and there joined in cluſters, or ſeparately ſcattered along the coaſt, ſeem to entertain us with a proſpect of ſeveral cities. If you go upon the water, or if you walk upon the ſhore, the landſkip is the ſame: the ſtrand itſelf is ſometimes ſoftened by a long calm, but much oftener hardened by the tumult and conflict of the waves. I muſt own, that our ocean does not abound with the choiceſt kind of fiſh: however, it produces excellent ſoles and prawns. But as to inland plenty, my houſe is never without it, eſpecially milk;

for

for the cattle are continually coming from their paſtures to ſeek water and ſhade near this place.

Now tell me, do I appear to act reaſonably in fixing my habitation, and taking infinite delight in ſuch a retreat? If you are not too much wedded to the city, you will be impatient to retire hither alſo. I wiſh you may; that amidſt ſo many pleaſing circumſtances, which attend my villa, it may ſtill boaſt of a ſuperior recommendation in the happineſs of your company. Adieu.

OBSERVATIONS.

The houſe, which PLINY here deſcribes, aſſumed its name from *Laurentum*, a village, of which, at this day, there are ſcarce any remains, except an inn called *San-Lorenzo*, where it is ſuppoſed part of that village ſtood. At a ſmall diſtance from *San-Lorenzo* is a place called *Paterno*, where ſome authors fix the *Laurentine* of SECUNDUS. A map, in the edition of PLINY by [t] CELLARIUS, ſhews us the exact ſpot, where our author's villa was built, not far from *Oſtia*, cloſe upon the ſhore of the *Tuſcan* ſea, in the territories of *Latium*, and near the mouth of the *Tyber*: but whatever delights the place afforded PLINY, the neighbourhood of *Oſtia* is at preſent entirely deſerted, on account of the badneſs of the climate, and the noxious qualities of the air.

Laurentinum was purchaſed by PLINY, as an immediate retreat after the fatiguing employments of the day. The diſtance from *Rome* anſwered this purpoſe. *Decem et ſeptem millibus paſſuum ab urbe ſeceſſit*: "Our diſtance is ſeventeen "miles from *Rome*." The proſpects from the road were various and agreeable: PLINY ſpeaks of them with great pleaſure in the beginning of this epiſtle, *Varia hinc atque inde facies*: "Variety of objects ſtrike the eye from every ſide." It is probable there was not any eſtate belonging to the houſe; which was a building, as PLINY modeſtly tells us, rather of convenience than of magnificence. *Villa uſibus capax, non ſumptuoſa tutela*: "My villa is a commodious,

[t] In duodecimo, 1737.

" not a ſumptuous edifice." Yet it evidently contained many apartments, and ſome of the rooms were large, but the height and proportion of each room are left to be ſupplied by imagination. The plans of *Laurentinum* [u], although they are given us by different architects, are each of them the works of fancy, aſſiſted by particular paſſages in this letter. MONTFAUCON has tranſlated this epiſtle, and he concludes his remarks upon it, in a manner, that may ſerve as a motto to the tranſlation exhibited in theſe ſheets; his words are, *in rebus tam obſcuris, ubi quantocunque ſtudio, quantacunque animi contentione rem ſuſcipias, ſententiarum diverſitatem nunquam vitare poſſis. Quando deſcriptiones hujuſmodi minutatim adornatæ in linguam noſtram convertuntur, voces quaſdam ſingulares, quæ res ſignificant non hodierni uſus, non niſi hariolando interpreteris: in tali vero deſcriptionum conditione quiſque ſuo modo hariolatur:* " Where " there is ſo much obſcurity, which cannot be cleared up by " the moſt intenſe ſtudy, or the greateſt application, a di- " verſity of opinions is inevitable. When deſcriptions of " this kind, ſo full of minute particulars, are to be tranſlated " into our language, and when certain words occur, which " are now become obſolete, you muſt be obliged to gueſs " often at the meaning; but where mere deſcription is the " object, every man gueſſes in his own manner."

Nam ſpecularibus, &c. The ſpecularia of the antients anſwered the effects of our glaſs windows. The *lapis ſpecularis* was a tranſparent ſtone, which [w] PLINY the elder tells us was originally found in the fartheſt parts of *Spain*. The nature of the ſtone, according to that hiſtorian, was remarkable. He ſays, *humorem hunc terræ quidam autumant cryſtalli modo glaciari:* " Some philoſophers are of opinion, " that the *lapis ſpecularis* is a certain juice of the earth, " which congeals after the manner of cryſtal." The ſame author adds, that although this ſtone is of an extraordinary ſoftneſs, yet it endures the heat of the ſummer, and the ſeverity of the winter; nor is it liable to decay, or ſuſceptible of any damage, except of burning. Theſe qualities rendered the *ſaxum ſpeculare* as uſeful, although perhaps not ſo tranſparent, as glaſs.

Eſt contra medias cavædium hilare: " A chearful quadran- " gular court ſtands in front of the portico." The *cava*

[u] *L'antiquité expliquée*, Vol. 3. Liv. 3. chap. 14.
[w] Lib. 6. Sect. 45.

ædium

ædium of the antients are divided by VITRUVIUS into five ſorts. The *cavædium diſpluviatum* was the kind deſcribed in this epiſtle: a quadrangle encompaſſed by buildings on every ſide.

Mox triclinium ſatis pulchrum: the *triclinium* was the dining-room, the length of which, according to VITRUVIUS, ought to be twice the breadth. The antients, at their feaſts, extended themſelves upon beds. Each bed contained three perſons, or ſometimes four; but the form and manner of the *triclinia* are too ſufficiently known, and exhibited, to require any farther explanation here.

Mox atrium ſylvas, &c. I apprehend *atrium* to ſignify, in this place, *hariolandi gratiâ*, a veſtible; if not, it is another court of offices.

Cubiculum cum procœtone: the procœton was a room appropriated for ſlaves to lie near their maſters. A lobby, where ſervants might remain within call.

Inde balinea: the ruins of the Roman baths, as has been elſewhere obſerved [x], ſtill ſhew their magnificence. Perſons of diſtinction had private baths at their country ſeats; ſuch, as are here deſcribed by our author: but the bath was only uſed before meals, by thoſe who bathed for cleanlineſs, or for health. On this account HORACE, when he reproves the Roman youth for their vices, takes notice, that they go to the baths immediately after a debauch, and walk through the ſtreets with torches, carried before them in the open day; affectations equally unwholeſome and ridiculous.

ANTONIUS MUSA introduced and recommended the exerciſe of cold bathing at *Rome*, where it never had been uſed, or at leaſt had been long neglected till his time. But it then became ſo prevailing a faſhion, that men of conſular dignity ſtrove to outvie one another in quaking and trembling in the coldeſt water, and in the coldeſt weather. SENECA values himſelf upon having the title of PSYCHROLUTA, and boaſts, that he was able to dance in cold water on the firſt day of January. It is plain, he thought this regimen the beſt method to harden his conſtitution, and to prolong his life. When he was to die, he choſe the warm bath with bleeding, as moſt proper to procure an eaſy diſſolution, and an happy euthanaſia.

[x] See the Eſſay on PLINY's life.

By

By the advice of ANTONIUS MUSA, HORACE left the hot baths of *Baiæ*, as hurtful to his eyes; and uſed the cold baths of *Cluſium* and *Gabii*.

Nam mihi Baias
MUSA *ſupervacuas* ANTONIUS: *et tamen illis*
Me facit inviſum, gelidâ cum perluor undâ[y].

"For, MUSA's knowledge and his friendly care
"Bad me hot Baia's noxious ſprings forbear;
"And yet the people wonder, when I brave
"The wholſome ſmartneſs of a colder wave."

MUSA was the favourite phyſician of AUGUSTUS, whom he recovered, by the cold bath, from a dangerous diſorder. This raiſed his reputation to ſuch a degree, that all the phyſicians at *Rome* ſhared part of the honours he received, and were ever afterwards placed in equal rank with the *equites Romani*, ["Roman knights."] He is the celebrated phyſician, upon whom VIRGIL beſtows that beautiful epiſode in the character of IAPIS; and who, after he had preſerved AUGUSTUS in the manner already mentioned, unfortunately deſtroyed young MARCELLUS by the ſame method. So uncertain is the godlike art of cure.

The accounts, which ſome of the authors of antiquity give of their baths, are not only ſurpriſing, but incredible. They tell us of gilded roofs, jaſper pillars, ſilver pumps, pavements ſtudded with gems and jewels, and innumerable ornaments of prodigious coſt and ſplendour. MACROBIUS goes ſo far as to mention SERGIUS ORATA, *qui primus balneas penſiles habuit:* "who had built baths hanging in the "air." The *balinea*, which PLINY ſpeaks of in this epiſtle, are rather convenient than pompous, rather neat than magnificent; and are no otherwiſe remarkable, than as they were an exception to the prevailing extravagances of thoſe times; when the outragious luxury of the Romans appeared in no inſtance ſo conſpicuouſly as in their baths.

Cohæret calida piſcina: the *calida piſcina* may ſignify, as has been tranſlated, a warm bath: but it is properly a ciſtern to waſh in, filled with warm water; a large pond near the houſe; which, by a communication with the *hypocauſtum*,

[y] Horace. Epiſt. 15. Book 1.

became

became a hot bath upon any occaſion, and was to be emptied and filled at pleaſure.

Hinc turris erigitur, ſub quâ diætæ, &c. eſt et alia turris: ſub hoc triclinium, &c. PLINY is ſo very particular in deſcribing theſe two towers, and the chambers, which they contained, that we muſt be convinced, they conſiſted of two or three ſtories in height; and of conſequence ſtair caſes muſt lead up to the ſeveral apartments. Monſieur FELIBIEN has placed four ſmall ſtair caſes in the angles of the portico, ſhaped in the form of the letter O; but PLINY is ſo ſilent upon a point, where an explanation was much to be deſired, that, at the diſtance of near ſeventeen hundred years, the ſituation of the ſtair-caſes cannot be exactly aſcertained.

Hinc cryptoporticus, prope publici operis, extenditur: "From "hence the gallery extends itſelf, and appears with the "magnificence of a public building." We cannot know from this epiſtle, if our author found this *cryptoporticus* ready built, or if it was a work of his own deſign: in purſuance of a wandring gueſs, we may ſuppoſe [z] APOLLODORUS to have executed, and PLINY to have projected the plan. The apartment joining to the gallery was certainly built by SECUNDUS, *ipſe poſui*; and it is probable ſo elegant a gallery was raiſed by the ſame artiſt, and was a particular edifice for PLINY's own uſe, and to his own taſte.

In capite xyſti deinceps cryptoporticus, horti diæta eſt. This garden apartment ſeems to have contained all thoſe charms, which rendered *Laurentinum* ſo exquiſitely delightful to our author. It was the *horti diæta*, rather than the *villa Laurentina*, that engaged his heart. Three particular points were ſtudied in this building, warmth, proſpect, and retirement: the firſt is deſcribed by the following ſentence, *In hac heliocaminus quidem, alia xyſtum, alia mare, utraque ſolem.* It is very difficult, as has been already hinted, to find out any adequate expreſſion in our language, that may convey the full idea and meaning of the *heliocaminus:* to call it a hot houſe, is only to give it an Engliſh denomination, that may ſignify a place of heat; ſuch it was undoubtedly, and, as ſuch, it may convince us, that PLINY was an inhabitant of his *Laurentinum*, more in the winter, than in the ſummer

[z] A famous architect in the days of TRAJAN, who built the Trajan pillar, and the ſtone bridge over the Danube.

ſeaſon.

ſeaſon. The diverſity of proſpects muſt be always agreeable: *a pedidus mare*, ſays our author ſpeaking of a cloſet, *a tergo villæ, a capite ſylvæ, tot facies locorum totidem feneſtris et diſtinguit et miſcet.* The foaming of the ſea, and the intermingled cottages among diſtant woods, compoſed perhaps of ever-greens, and forming a kind of winter garden, muſt be a great entertainment to the eye, and muſt give infinite delight to a ſpeculative mind, which is always happy in beholding a variety in the works of nature. But the chief point, the retirement, was particularly ſtudied, and was enjoyed in the utmoſt perfection, eſpecially in PLINY's bedchamber, where, *interjacens andron*, "an intermediate ſpace "between the walls drowned all noiſe;" ſo that our author was never diſturbed by the roarings of the [a] *Mediterranean*, in the moſt tempeſtuous ſeaſons, nor by the mirth of his ſervants, during the Saturnalia.

Theſe feaſts, in honour of the god SATURN, continued three days. The time of their commencement in December. The ſlaves, during the ſolemnity, were permitted to act as maſters, and while the feaſt was celebrated, no war was to be declared, nor was a criminal to be executed. Riot, diſſoluteneſs, and all the extravagance of pleaſure reigned [b]. Such turbulent exceſſes were certainly diſagreeable to a philoſophic mind. The ſoul of PLINY was formed for ſtudious privacy; and his purſuits of knowledge being frequently interrupted, in the more magnificent apartments of *Laurentinum*, he raiſed this additional building, at the end of his gallery, as an aſylum to his ſtudies, and a ſanctuary to his ſpeculations: he ſpeaks of his favorite edifice in the rapturous ſtile of a lover: *Amores mei, re verâ amores.*

Here is my heart, here fix'd my ſoul's delight,
Here the calm chamber of forgetful night.

[a] That part of the Mediterranean ſea next to *Oſtia* and *Laurentum* is called by the old geographers, *Mare Inferum.*

[b] CATANÆUS, who publiſhed an edition of PLINY's epiſtles at *Milan*, in the year 1506, has the following remarkable note upon theſe feſtivals: *Saturnalibus licebat ſervis, ſumptis pileis, non modò veſci cum dominis, ſed pares honores illis in domo gerere, jus dicere, et omni ludorum genere remitti*; CUJUS REI VESTIGIA IN ALIQUIBUS ITALIÆ OPPIDIS PUBLICE ADHUC RESTANT POST NATALEM REDEMPTORIS NOSTRI.

When

When the ſoft hours their downy wings compoſe,
And gentle ſlumber o'er my ſenſes flows,
Freed from domeſtic noiſe, and public ſtrife,
I drink oblivion of an anxious life;
Or, if I wake, attentively explore,
And draw forth learning from her golden ſtore.

As PLINY has omitted to mention the proportion of any one room in the garden apartment, or in the *Laurentinum* itſelf, SCAMOZZI, FELIBIEN, and other authors, have endeavoured to ſupply his deficiency, by affixing ſuppoſititious dimenſions to each particular chamber. But to what purpurpoſe need we repine after a more certain and exact deſcription of *Laurentinum?* when our own country may, at this day, boaſt of a villa, where the grandeur of deſign, the delicacy of art, the beauty of proportion, and the juſtneſs of taſte, appear in as high ſplendor, and with as true elegance, as *Greece* or *Italy* could ever celebrate, and at no greater diſtance from *London* than *Cheſwick*.

EPISTLE XVIII.

PLINY *to* JUNIUS MAURICUS.

WHAT more acceptable injunction can you lay upon me, than to deſire I would look out for a preceptor to your brother's children? By this kind act you ſend me back to ſchool again, and I reſume, as it were, that moſt agreeable part of life. I ſit among the young people as I uſed to do; and I meet with frequent inſtances, where the proficiency I have made in my ſtudies, ſtrikes them with great deference towards me. Let me give you a proof of it: they were rehearſing the other day before a large audience, and before many perſons, as high in rank and quality as myſelf. They ſpoke till I came in without the leaſt awe or heſitation, but at that moment they were all ſilent and abaſhed. I ſhould not mention this incident, unleſs it were more to their praiſe, than to my own; and unleſs I could give you,

you, by it, a moſt hopeful proſpect of a modeſt and proper education for your nephews. The part then, that remains more immediately for me, is to attend the profeſſors, and their lectures, till I have gone through them, and then to ſend you my opinion of each, as minutely, as the limits of a letter will permit; and in ſuch an exact manner, that you may imagine yourſelf preſent at their lectures, and examinations. This is a duty, and a taſk, which I owe both to you, and to the memory of your brother; more eſpecially in an affair of ſuch infinite conſequence. For, what can be of greater importance to you, than that theſe children, I ſhould call them your children, did you not now love them better, than if they were your own, ſhould appear worthy of ſuch a father, and ſuch an uncle? I ſhould certainly have claimed the truſt, which you now repoſe in me, had you never requeſted it. Though I well know what an invidious office it is, to ſelect an inſtructor from among thoſe numbers, who muſt be offended by being neglected. But whatever envy, hatred, or malice may fall upon me, on account of my choice for your nephews, I ought to be as little moved by it, as parents would be, on account of their own children. Farewell.

OBSERVATIONS.

The affections of PLINY were conſtantly continued, and carried down to the ſurviving poſterity of his friends. His love knew no end. Death could not interrupt the current of his friendſhip. It flowed on *in omne volubilis ævum*. In the fourteenth epiſtle of the firſt book, we ſaw him recommending a huſband, MINUTIUS ACILIANUS, to the daughter of ARULENUS RUSTICUS; and here we ſee him, intent in chuſing a preceptor for the ſons of that unfortunate Roman. With what reſignation and eaſe of mind might a man quit the world, were he ſure to leave ſuch friends as PLINY behind him? friends firm and faithful to

his

his family, and to his children; fathers to the fatherleſs, ſupporters to the helpleſs, benefactors to the indigent: and, if one may uſe the expreſſion, the viceregents of the Almighty here on earth. It is true, the children of RUSTICUS were left more immediately under the care of JUNIUS MAURICUS, their uncle; but we muſt obſerve, that MAURICUS takes no one ſtep of importance, in regard to their welfare or education, without conſulting and depending upon PLINY; who is reſolved, not only to employ all his ſkill in chooſing a preceptor for them, but to watch and guide theſe young Romans in their dawnings of reaſon, and their firſt ſteps towards erudition.

There is one ſentence in the epiſtle before us, to which a ſmall alteration, perhaps, is allowable; becauſe, as it now ſtands, it is impoſſible to be literally true. Our author, in ſpeaking to MAURICUS of his nephews, ſays to him, "I "ſhould call them your children, did you not now love "them better, than if they were your own." Had PLINY ever been a father, he muſt have known, that no man can love his nephews better, than he loves his own children. Let the kind regards of an uncle riſe ever ſo high, let his tenderneſs to his nephews be never ſo extenſive, they cannot equal the love of a parent. Paternal affection is beyond all deſcription, and far out of the reach of words: it is only to be felt, not expreſſed. The compliment indeed would be leſſened, but the ſentence, methinks, would run more naturally thus: "I ſhould call them your children, did you "not *ſeem* to love them better, if poſſible, than your own." No man knows what he is to feel as a parent, till he is one.

EPISTLE

EPISTLE XIX.

PLINY *to* VELIUS CEREALIS.

YOU deſire me to rehearſe my ſpeech before a large number of my friends: I ſhall obey, becauſe the command comes from you. But, I confeſs, I am not without my doubts and uneaſineſs upon the occaſion: I cannot but reflect, that written ſpeeches, when they are rehearſed, not only loſe their force and ſpirit, but almoſt their very name. They want thoſe incitements, that uſually tend to grace the ſpeech, and to ſtir up emulation in the ſpeaker: I mean the aſſembly of judges, the concourſe of advocates, the expectation of the event, the high characters of the pleaders, and the different parties, into which the audience are divided: Add to this, the action of the orator himſelf, both in walking backwards and forwards, and in ſpeaking; and that correſpondent vigorous exertion of the body, which accompanies all the motions of the mind. From hence it happens, that thoſe, who ſpeak ſitting, though in every other reſpect they have the ſame advantage with thoſe, who ſpeak in a ſtanding poſture, yet ſeem enervated and depreſſed; merely becauſe they ſit. And again, thoſe, who rehearſe, are ſtill in a worſe ſtate: their eyes and hands, the great helps to elocution, are confined; and it is no wonder, if the attention of the audience droops, when it is neither ſoothed nor ſharpened by any outward allurements. I muſt obſerve to you likewiſe, that the ſpeech I mention is of the contentious and offenſive kind. Beſides, we are naturally apt to conclude, that what we have written with a good deal of difficulty, will be heard with little reliſh. And indeed, where can we find an auditor ſo upright,

upright, as not to be more pleaſed with what is ſweet and harmonious, than what is grave and nervous? There often ariſes too, upon theſe occaſions, a very ſhameful diſagreement between the judges and the audience; the former expecting very different ſpeeches from what pleaſe the latter; and yet every hearer ought to act as impartially, as if he came there to ſit in judgement. However, it may ſo happen, that, notwithſtanding all theſe difficulties, the novelty of the performance may be an advantage to it. The novelty will certainly be acceptable to our own people. There is indeed amongſt the Greeks, a cuſtom, which, though very different from this, bears ſome diſtant reſemblance to it. For, as it is their practice, when they reverſe laws, as contrary to acts formerly paſſed, to compare them with other laws in being; ſo I, to demonſtrate, that what I urged and contended for, was plainly included in the law againſt bribery, have been obliged to compare it, not only with other laws, but with the ſeveral clauſes contained in that law itſelf. The ignorant will not approve of this method; and the leſs favour it finds with them, the more it ought to meet with from the learned. But, if you will abſolutely have me proceed in this rehearſal, no perſons ſhall be preſent, except men of learning. However, I deſire you will thoroughly conſider within yourſelf, whether I ſhould attempt the performance, or not: weigh all the arguments I have given you on one ſide, and on the other, and then let your reaſon determine. But remember, it is your judgement, not mine, will be called in queſtion: my obedience will ſufficiently plead my excuſe. Farewell.

OBSERVATIONS.

The ſubject of this epiſtle to CEREALIS is upon the difference between an oration read in a private chamber, amidſt a ſmall number of friends, and the ſame ſpeech pronounced in public, before a crouded audience. PLINY juſtly gives the preference to the latter; and enforces his opinion with ſtrong reaſons, why the advantages are much greater in one caſe, than in the other. Nor can thoſe reaſons be better illuſtrated, than by recollecting the picture of St. PAUL preaching at *Athens* in one of RAPHAEL's cartoons. The apoſtle is there repreſented in all the majeſty of an inſpired orator, and all the dignity of a meſſenger ſent from GOD. It is ſcarce poſſible to have our ideas raiſed higher, both of oratory in general, and of St. PAUL in particular, than the ſuperlative ſkill of RAPHAEL exalts them by this piece. The attitude of the figure is ſuch, as ſtrikes us with a mixture of pleaſure, reverence, and amazement: every muſcle ſeems to move; the *motus animi*, and the *conſentaneus vigor corporis* are ſo evidently diſcernible, that we ſee the preacher animated by the cauſe he is engaged in, and provoked by the idle ſuperſtitions, and various idolatries of the Athenians.

But, as it was a cuſtom amongſt the Romans, to rehearſe particular ſpeeches to a ſelect number of friends, and, as PLINY promiſes, in this point, to obey the commands of CEREALIS, let us juſt touch upon what TULLY ſays were the chief beauties of an oration, excluſive of action, and without any regard to the ſpeaker, but to the ſpeech. "[a] An "oration, according to that author, muſt in ſome meaſure ſet off itſelf, *quaſi colore quodam et ſucco ſuo*: "by having a kind of colour, and tincture of its own." "The "ſtyle of it muſt be ſmooth, eaſy, and polite, not only in "ſome parts and branches, but throughout the whole. It "muſt be drawn up in ſuch a manner, that it may delight, "and not cloy the audience; all ambiguous phraſes, low "turns, and affectations of witticiſms, are to be avoided, "and none but the choiceſt words are to be made uſe "of, and thoſe ſo diſpoſed and ranged, as to ſound full

[a] Cicero de Oratore, Lib. 3.

"and

" and harmonious to every ear." Theſe are perfections neceſſary to every ſpeech, whether pronounced in public or in private, whether ſtanding or ſitting, whether to many or to few; becauſe they are perfections, that will appear without the advantage of action; and for the neglect of which, the beſt action cannot make amends.

EPISTLE XX.

PLINY *to* CALVISIUS.

OPEN your purſe, CALVISIUS: I have a ſtory to tell you worth gold; nay, I have more than one; for one ſtory reminds me of others, nor does it ſignify, with which I begin. VERANIA, the wife of PISO, lay dangerouſly ill: (I mean PISO, who was adopted by GALBA.) REGULUS came at that time to ſee her. Obſerve, in the firſt place, the conſummate impudence of the man, to viſit a ſick lady, though he had been the declared enemy of the huſband, and always held in abhorrence by the wife. However, a viſit had been nothing; but he ſeats himſelf cloſe to her bed-ſide, then queſtions her on what day, and at what hour ſhe was born? When ſhe had told him, he compoſes his countenance, fixes his eyes, pouts his lips, counts upon his fingers, begins to compute: what? nothing but how long he might keep the miſerable woman in ſuſpence. " You " are, ſays he, in your grand climacteric: but you " will outlive it; of which that you may be more " abſolutely certain, I will conſult a ſoothſayer, " whoſe knowledge I have frequently experienced." This ſaid, he puts it in immediate execution, and performs a ſacrifice; then affirms, that the entrails were as propitious, as the ſtars. VERANIA credulous, becauſe in danger, makes a codicil to her will, in which ſhe appoints REGULUS a legatee. Soon after ſhe grows worſe, and finding herſelf paſt all hopes, ſhe cries

out with her lateſt breath, "O that wicked, that "treacherous, that more than perjured villain! who "has perjured himſelf, although he ſwore by his "ſon's head."

This is an oath, which REGULUS makes uſe of no leſs wickedly, than frequently; and by which he calls down the anger of the gods, whom he provokes by daily perjuries, upon the head of his unhappy boy.

The rich conſular VELLEIUS BLÆSUS finding himſelf extremely ill, in that ſickneſs, which proved his laſt, was deſirous to alter his will. REGULUS, who from a new will expected, that ſomething might poſſibly accrue to himſelf, eſpecially as he had lately taken great pains to inſinuate himſelf into BLÆSUS, was perpetually entreating and beſeeching the phyſicians, that they would find out ſome method to prolong the life of this dear man. But, as ſoon as the new will was ſigned, he altered his countenance, and ſpoke in another ſtrain to the ſame phyſicians: "How "long, ſays he, will you torment this miſerable "mortal? Why will you hinder him from dying, "when your whole art cannot keep him alive?" BLÆSUS dies, and, as if he had overheard REGULUS, did not leave him a mite.

Two ſtories ſurely are enough, unleſs by the ſcholaſtic law you inſiſt upon a third. I have it ready upon the ſame theme. AURELIA, a woman of high dreſs and parade, was about making her will; and at that time had dreſſed herſelf in one of her fineſt ſuits of cloaths. REGULUS, when he came to witneſs the will, ſaid to her, "Let me intreat you to "leave me theſe ſumptuous garments." AURELIA imagined he was in jeſt, but he ſeriouſly perſiſted in his requeſt: in ſhort, he obliged the lady to open her will, and to bequeath him the cloaths ſhe then wore; nay whilſt ſhe was writing, he obſerved every ſyllable, and looked over her to ſee, if ſhe really bequeathed

queathed him the legacy. But AURELIA is alive and well; though he forced her to act towards him, as if ſhe had been at the point of death: and thus he catches at inheritances and legacies, as if he deſerved them.

But why do I ſtay any longer in a city, where knavery and falſhood meet with far greater rewards, than either modeſty or virtue? Look at REGULUS, who, from a poor mean creature, has raiſed himſelf by his villainies to ſo plentiful a fortune, that, as he told me himſelf, he conſulted his ſtars once, to know how ſoon he ſhould be worth [b] ſix thouſand great ſeſterces, and he found by the ſacrifice, the entrails of which were double, that he ſhould be worth twice that ſum. And he certainly will, if he goes on, as he has begun, in this moſt wicked kind of impoſition, by making the laſt wills of other people ſubſervient to his own dictates and deſires. Adieu.

OBSERVATIONS.

Theſe ſtories, at the time they were told, when many of the perſons mentioned were living, the characters known, and every circumſtance perfectly underſtood, muſt have afforded great matter of ſpeculation and raillery at *Rome*. They have not loſt their value in the ſpace of ſixteen hundred years. The colours are ſtill ſtrong and lively, and we are preſent at the ſcene betwixt REGULUS and VERANIA: we ſee him ſitting by her bed-ſide: we view him acting the part of an aſtrologer, and caſting a figure upon his fingers: He mutters to himſelf, he aſſumes an air of wiſdom, he enquires into her age, and the hour of her birth; and he practiſes all the myſterious arts of a ſecond ſighted conju-

[b] [*Sextertium ſexcenties*] amount to more than four hundred and eighty four thouſand pounds of our money. There were two ſorts of ſeſterces, the great and the ſmall; the former of which are here ſpoken of.

rer. So far we may laugh, but what makes the hypocrite more ſeriouſly deteſtable, is to find by the laſt words of VERANIA, that he had pawned the life of his ſon [*ſibi per ſalutem filii pejeraſſet*] in ſanction of his avaricious deſigns, and in ſupport of his conſummate hypocriſy. The *Reguli* of our days pawn their ſouls, and ſwear to falſhoods by the hopes of their ſalvation: and though the aſſeverations are different, they are made to ſerve the ſame iniquitous purpoſes, and they generally meet with the ſame ſucceſs.

Illa, ut in periculo, credula: "She credulous, like a per-"ſon in danger." Here is an evident inſtance of PLINY's good-nature. The words, *ut in periculo*, are inſerted merely to defend a lady, whoſe behaviour ſtood in great need of ſome apology: for if REGULUS had been the declared enemy of her huſband PISO, and after his death had been equally odious to herſelf, [*Marito inimiciſſimus, ipſi inviſiſſimus*] nothing but the fear of dying could have excuſed a conduct ſo unbecoming the widow of PISO, and ſo derogatory to a woman of ſenſe.

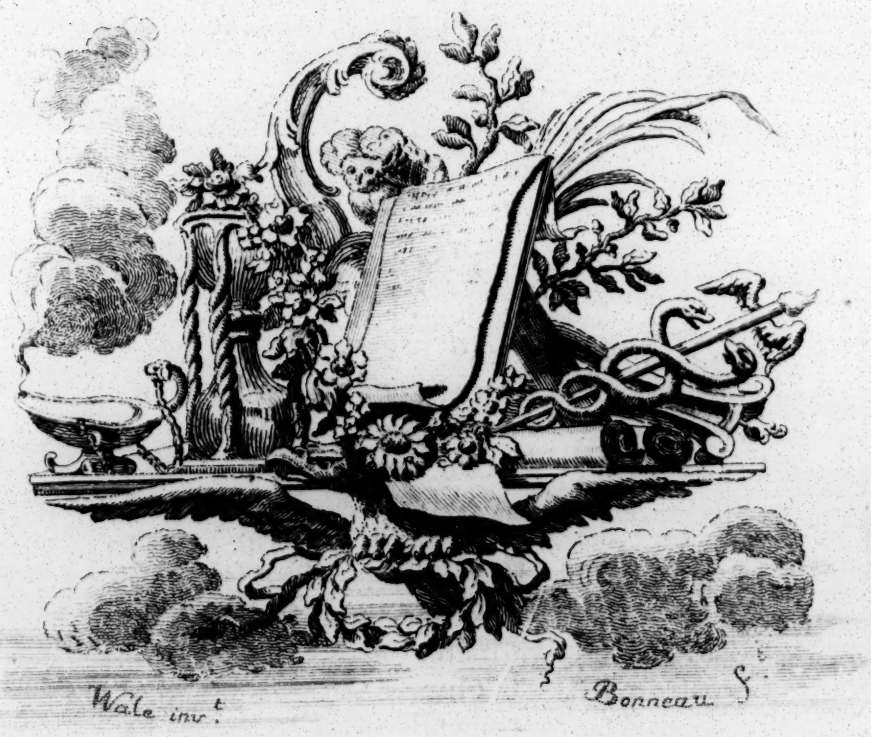
BLÆSUS *moritur*, REGULO *ne tantulum quidem:* "BLÆ-"SUS dies, not a mite for REGULUS." I dare ſay, whoever looks into this epiſtle, will be much rejoiced at the diſappointment of REGULUS. There is ſomething ſo extremely ungenerous and cruel in wiſhing for the convulſive pangs, and laſt groans of our fellow creature; that it muſt be a nature ſavagely brutal to admit of any ſuch thoughts: and yet this was a character very common at *Rome*. The *Hæreditipetæ* are frequently mentioned by moſt of the claſſic authors. The fifth ſatir of the ſecond book of HORACE, and the latter end of JUVENAL's twelfth ſatir, are entirely upon that topic. BEN. JOHNSON has alſo formed his *Volpone* upon the ſame plan; though CORBACCIO is ſtill a more extraordinary miſer than REGULUS. The whole comedy ſhews to what a pitch of wickedneſs and folly this particular ſpecies of avarice can drive mankind.

The ſtory of AURELIA gives us ſtill a farther inſight into REGULUS, who condeſcends even to beg old cloaths, rather than not be entitled to a legacy. It is a maxim with the avaricious to get whatever they can: they think nothing too mean to aſk, nothing too ſordid to wiſh for. A covetous man has ſo voracious an appetite, and ſo quick a digeſtion, that he can never be ſatisfied. His deſires are like a whirlpool, ready to ſwallow up whatever floats within reach,

reach, and to take in every ſtraw and atom, that comes within the circle. But, if we were glad to find REGULUS fruſtrated in his expectations of a legacy from VELLEIUS BLÆSUS, it will be ſome pleaſure to imagine, that AURELIA outlived him, or that ſhe wore this particular rich ſuit of cloaths [c] long enough to reduce it into a tattered legacy at her death.

[c] It was the cuſtom in England, within theſe hundred years, to leave ſuits of cloaths as legacies to particular friends and relations.

The End of the SECOND BOOK.





PLINY's EPISTLES.

BOOK III.

EPISTLE I.

PLINY *to* CALVISIUS.

I Cannot recollect, that I have ever ſpent my time more agreeably than lately with SPURINNA: inſomuch, that, if I live to grow old, there is no man, whom I ſhould think, at that period of life, more worthy of my imitation. Nothing can be more remarkably diſtinguiſhed than his way of living; and, as I take delight in obſerving the regular courſe of the planets, I have the ſame ſort of pleaſure, in conſidering the decent order, in which men paſs their days, eſpecially men in years. In young men, perhaps ſome irregularity and diſorder may not be unbecoming: but in the down-

hill

hill of life, all things ſhould be carried on ſmoothly and methodically. The time of induſtry is then paſſed, and the allurements of ambition are become ſhameful.

SPURINNA keeps to this rule moſt religiouſly: in the greateſt trifles, trifles, if they were not his daily employment, he moves round in one unvaried rotation, and regularity.

In a morning, he remains ſome time ruminating in his bed: he calls for his cloaths about eight o'clock, and takes a walk generally of three miles, not only for the exerciſe of his body, but of his mind. If his friends are with him, they converſe and diſpute upon various, uſeful, and polite ſubjects: if he is alone, a book is read to him; which is ſometimes the caſe, even when his friends are preſent, provided they ſhew no averſion to it. As ſoon as he comes in, he ſits down; and then again ſome book is taken up, or ſome converſation, preferable to a book, is purſued: after which, he goes out in his chariot, and takes with him his wife, a woman of ſingular merit; or elſe one of his friends; and of late I was the perſon. It is then, then, you enjoy the ſweets of his private converſation: it is then he opens to you the ſtories of antiquity: what actions, what men do you hear of! what precepts do you then imbibe! But, whilſt you learn, ſo excellently tempered is his modeſty, he does not ſeem to dictate. After an excurſion, in this manner, of about ſeven miles, he walks again a mile; and then repoſes himſelf, or goes up to his chamber to write: and his writings, both in Greek and Latin, are maſterly, eſpecially his lyrics. His poetry is ſo wonderfully ſweet, ſo eaſy, and, at the ſame time, ſo gay, that the only additional graces it can receive are from the unſullied character of the author. When they bring him word, that the hour of bathing is come, which, in winter, is at three o'clock in the afternoon, and, in ſummer,

at

at two, if there is no wind, he walks quite undreſſed in the ſun; and then plays at tennis violently, and for a long time together. This is a kind of exerciſe, which he uſes as a weapon againſt the attacks of old age. After bathing he goes to bed, chuſing not to eat the moment he comes out of the bath. In the mean while, ſomething amuſing and of no conſequence is read to him; and his friends, during all this interval, are at liberty to divert themſelves, either in the ſame manner, or in any other they chuſe. When ſupper is ſerved, you find it no leſs neat than frugal, and the whole ſervice is in pure antique ſilver. He has likewiſe a ſet of Corinthian plate, which he ſometimes uſes; but ſeems rather to be pleaſed with it, than proud of it. We are often entertained at ſupper with a comedy; that even pleaſures may be ſeaſoned with ſtudy. The ſupper generally breaks in upon the night, even in ſummer: and yet a meal lengthened out by ſo much politeneſs can never appear tedious. By theſe means, he has his hearing and eye-ſight entire, and his body is perfectly active, and vigorous, although he is turned of ſeventy ſeven. The only mark of age he diſcovers, is prudence. My wiſhes, and my thoughts, lead me to look forward to this kind of life; which I am determined to enter upon, with the utmoſt eagerneſs, as ſoon as I am ſo far advanced in years, that I can plead a ſufficient excuſe for my retreat. In the mean while, I am engaged in a multiplicity of buſineſs; in which, however, I comfort myſelf with the example of SPURINNA: for he alſo, as long as he thought he was in honour obliged, applied himſelf to the ſervice of the ſtate; he has paſſed through the ſeveral magiſtracies, he has governed provinces, and he has earned by his toils the tranquillity, which he now poſſeſſes. I ſet myſelf, therefore, the ſame courſe, and the ſame boundaries: and I declare this to you, under my hand, that, if I ſhould go beyond the limits,

mits, I have preſcribed, you may have full commiſſion to call me back, to be judged by my own letter; and command me to retire, whenever you think I ſhall not run the hazard of being reproached for my idleneſs. Farewell.

OBSERVATIONS.

This letter is full of latent beauties, but they, here and there, ſeem to want a little help to bring them forward, and to reſcue them from obſcurity. Conciſeneſs in familiar letters is not only allowable, but almoſt inevitable; and yet PLINY ſtands condemned of never ſitting down to write an epiſtle, without an intention of publiſhing it. Admitting the accuſation to be true, he ſat down to a very good purpoſe; and the polite world are much obliged to him, for the pains he has taken, to tranſmit his thoughts, with elegance and correctneſs, to poſterity. But I am apt to think he had no ſuch deſign: his heart flowed through his pen; and if his ſentiments are more refined, his turns more eaſy, and his ſtyle more delicate than ordinary, theſe beauties are owing to the excellence of his genius, and the perfection of his nature; and not to that vanity, which makes a man try to appear better and wiſer, than he really is, either in inclination, or capacity. It is true, PLINY deſires, that this letter to CALVISIUS may be kept: but what is his motive for that requeſt? It is to be kept as a witneſs againſt himſelf, as a check to his ambition, and as a curb to his purſuit of public honours. He thinks there is a time, when even glory may be ſatiated; and he reſolves to retire, when the labours of the day have juſtified his impatience for the evening's reſt. But if he ſhould fall into a very common error, of being unwilling to quit the reins of power, and to repoſe within the chariot, which he had driven, he intreats CALVISIUS, to ſtop him in his career of grandeur, by producing this epiſtle, and ſetting before his eyes the picture of the wife SPURINNA, thus drawn by himſelf; as the portrait, he ſhould wiſh to reſemble in the decline of years, *cum induſtria ſera, et turpis ambitio eſt:* "When induſtry is ill timed, and ambi-
"tion is a reproach."

The ſtrange diſorder, in which PLINY's epiſtles are thrown together, is never enough to be regretted. No characters,

racters, unleſs ſuch as happen to be contained in one letter, are preſerved entire; no hiſtorical facts are connected; no unity of time, or place, is conſidered: ſerious reflexions, amuſing trifles, public acts, and private buſineſs, are all blended together with as little ſkill, or conſideration, as was ever beſtowed upon any author. But, not to dwell upon obſervations, that will neceſſarily occur too often, throughout this work, let us remember, that in the ſeventh epiſtle of the preceding book, VESTRICIUS SPURINNA is repreſented to us, returning in melancholy triumph, on the loſs of his ſon COTTIUS, from a peaceful victory he obtained over thoſe German ſavages, the *Bructeri*;

A race unpoliſh'd, but inur'd to toil,
Rough as their heav'n, and barren as their ſoil [a].

The trite compariſon of old men to the ſetting ſun is very juſt; becauſe their glory dazzles, when their heat has no longer influence: but they never appear more awfully venerable, than when they have run their race of vigour with univerſal applauſe; and are retired, to enjoy their prize of fame, with humility, and in peace: or, as [b] HOMER has deſcribed them, when from warriors they become counſellors, when their ſtrength of body is ſucceeded by an equal ſtrength of mind, and when they can look upon the charms of beauty with the eye of prudence, and not of love.

VESTRICIUS SPURINNA is deſcribed in this epiſtle, as an old man, of an excellent diſpoſition. He had ſpent his youth in military actions, and in the ſoldierly ſervice of his country: he had ſeen various revolutions, and had outlived ſeveral emperors: and having received from TRAJAN the honour of an equeſtrian ſtatue, he retired to his country ſeat, and paſſed his life in the temperate and regular manner deſcribed in this epiſtle; a manner, which captivated PLINY ſo extremely, that, not to uſe his own words again, we may expreſs his thoughts and wiſhes, in the following admirable lines, from Mr. DRYDEN:

So would I live, ſuch gradual death to find,
Like timely fruit, not ſhaken by the wind,

[a] FENTON. [b] See HOMER. Iliad. 3. ℣. 146.

But

But ripely dropping from the ſapleſs bough,
And, dying, nothing to myſelf would owe.
Thus daily changing, with a duller taſte
Of leſs'ning joys, I by degrees would waſte.
Still quitting ground by unperceiv'd decay,
And ſteal myſelf from life, and melt away.

EPISTLE II.

PLINY *to* MAXIMUS.

WHAT I ſhould readily have offered to any of your friends, if my power were equal to yours, I now think I have a kind of right to requeſt for mine. ARRIANUS MATURIUS is a man, who makes the moſt conſiderable figure among the *Altinates*. When I mention him as a perſon, who makes the moſt conſiderable figure, I do not mean in point of riches, although his wealth is very great; but I mean, in morality, juſtice, wiſdom, and prudence. I make uſe of his advice, in my affairs, and of his judgement, in my ſtudies; becauſe he excels in integrity, truth, and experience. He loves me, (I think I can find no ſtronger expreſſion) as you love me. He has no thirſt for preferment; and, for that reaſon, has kept himſelf in the order of knighthood, when he might eaſily have riſen to the higheſt honours. But it is my part, to bring him forward with all the luſtre I am able. And therefore, I have a moſt earneſt deſire, to dignify him without his expectation, without his knowledge, and perhaps againſt his will. But, what I would beſtow on him, ſhould be highly honourable, but no way burthenſome: a favour of this ſort, I beſeech you, to grant me for him, as ſoon as any opportunity offers. You will find me, you will find him, moſt gratefully ſenſible of the obligation: for, although he has made no ſuch requeſt, he will receive it with as much gratitude, as if he had. Farewell.

OBSER-

OBSERVATIONS.

The intimacy between PLINY and ARRIANUS MATURIUS appears from the many epiſtles, addreſſed by the former to the latter. To ſum them up together: the ſecond epiſtle of the firſt book, the eleventh and twelfth epiſtles of the ſecond book, the eighth and twelfth epiſtles of the fourth book, the ſecond epiſtle of the ſixth book, and the twenty firſt epiſtle of the eighth book are all written, or, at leaſt, entitled to ARRIANUS, and ought to have been placed together, if method or order had been preſerved in any one edition of the author before us. The particular requeſt, made by PLINY for his friend, is not ſpecified. He leaves the choice and diſpoſition of it to MAXIMUS, and only aſks for an employment of honour, dignity, and eaſe. There is a politeneſs in this epiſtle, that prevents all commendation, and beſpeaks its own praiſe. It is written to GAVIUS MAXIMUS, who was probably at this time *Præfectus Prætorio*, commander of the prætorian cohorts, or colonel of the lifeguard; an office of great truſt and nearneſs to the emperor's perſon. It was firſt inſtituted by AUGUSTUS, and was exactly anſwerable to the maſter of horſe under the dictators. There may be occaſion to ſpeak of GAVIUS MAXIMUS hereafter; but, the ſurmize of what dignity he bore at this juncture, may not be improper, as it is plain from the letter itſelf, that the power of GAVIUS muſt have been very extenſive, ſince PLINY applies to him, as to a perſon, who could beſtow upon ARRIANUS almoſt what employment he pleaſed. Let us enquire into ſome particulars of ARRIANUS. There are many perſons of that name. ARRIANUS MATURIUS, the ſubject of this epiſtle, was bred up at the feet of EPICTETUS, whoſe principles he ſo ſtrongly imbibed, that he himſelf made afterwards a conſiderable figure as a philoſopher; and was, beſides, a learned geographer, and an excellent hiſtorian. He was by birth an Aſiatic; born at *Nicomedia*, the capital city of *Bithynia*. But our author ſpeaks of him here as an inhabitant of *Altinum*, the ſituation of which is thus given us by PLINY the elder. *Sequitur decima regio Italiæ, Adriatico mari appoſita; cujus Venetia: fluvius Silis ex montibus Tarviſanis: oppidum Altinum*, &c. "The next is the tenth region of *Italy*, oppoſite to the *Adriatic* ſea; in this region is *Venetia*: the river

"river *Silis* riſing from the *Tarviſanian* mountains: the "city *Altinum*, &c." Thus we ſee it was placed upon the *Adriatic* ſhore, and, according to STRABO, near *Ravenna*[c]: the ruins of it are ſtill to be ſeen upon the river *Sile*. There is no account given, why ARRIANUS ſettled at *Altinum*. The beauty of the place, which is ſpoken of by MARTIAL[d], might poſſibly have been his inducement: but, by what can be collected from this epiſtle, the date whereof is no ways to be aſcertained, he lived there privately; and rather illuſtrious in character, than in ſtation; rich, not powerful; void of ambition, but full of gratitude for favours conferred; capable of any employment, deſirous of none; fond of retirement, but ready to ſerve his country, when called upon. PLINY, ever eager to bring forward a genius, endeavours to recommend MATURIUS to the affection of MAXIMUS. It is reaſonable to believe, he ſucceeded in his deſign, and, by this letter, laid the foundation of that grandeur, and thoſe honours, which ARRIANUS afterwards enjoyed; for hiſtory aſſures us, that his extraordinary merit, and great capacity, raiſed him to the dignity of a conſul, and the government of *Cappadocia*, under the emperor ADRIAN.

[c] Vid. STRABO. Lib. 5. [d] Lib. 4. Epig. 25.

EPISTLE III.

PLINY *to* CORELLIA HISPULLA.

I Am really in doubt, whether I moſt loved, or admired, that great and good man, your father. For your own ſake, and in honour to his memory, I retain the greateſt affection for you; and therefore, it is impoſſible for me not to deſire, and to endeavour, as far as lies in my power, that your ſon ſhould be like his grandfather. I confeſs, I ſhould chuſe to have him reſemble his grandfather by his mother: not that I am ignorant, that his grandfather, on the father's ſide, was a man of eminence and reputation: his father too, and his uncle, were both of diſtinguiſhed

guiſhed characters. He will certainly reſemble all his relations, if he has the advantage of a proper, liberal education; in which the chief point is the perſon, from whom he is to receive his firſt impreſſions. His infancy has hitherto kept him within the walls of your own houſe; and he has had maſters at home, where there was little, or no room, to make dangerous, or indeed any miſtakes: but his ſtudies muſt now bring him forward, beyond thoſe limits; and it is time to look out for a Latin profeſſor of rhetoric, whoſe ſcholaſtic diſcipline, whoſe modeſty, and whoſe virtue are manifeſtly apparent. Our young man, among the other gifts of nature, and fortune, has the recommendation of a beautiful perſon; which makes it neceſſary, that, in this dangerous part of life, his maſter ſhould not only be a preceptor, but a guardian, and a guide. I think, I may venture to point out to you JULIUS GENITOR. I love him; but that love of him by no means blinds my judgement, but proceeds from it. He is a man irreproachable in his morals, and grave in his deportment; perhaps too ſtrict for the licentiouſneſs of theſe times. There are many, from whom you may be informed of his power in eloquence. His manner of ſpeaking has a certain freedom, and openneſs, that diſcovers itſelf at once. The outward appearance, indeed, of a man's life does not ſhew the inward labyrinths, and deep receſſes of the ſoul: in that reſpect let me be anſwerable for GENITOR. Your ſon is ſure to hear nothing from him, but what will be improving. He is ſure to learn nothing from him, of which he ought to remain ignorant; and he will be taught by him, as often as he would by you, or by me, how much he ought to ſet his anceſtors before his eyes, and how many great and noble names he is to keep up and ſuſtain. Deliver him then, under the auſpicious favour of the Gods, to this preceptor, who will firſt form his manners, and afterwards teach

him eloquence: for, without morals, eloquence is a dangerous art. Farewell.

OBSERVATIONS.

This epiſtle naturally leads our thoughts to education, the moſt difficult point in the world to be conducted with that nice degree of wiſdom, which is neceſſary towards bringing youth to a proper maturity and perfection. Children, like various ſorts of trees, are to be trimmed and pruned at different ſeaſons, according to the radical principles of their nature. Such, who ſprout out too exuberantly, and grow wild, are to be kept down and confined, till they fall into form and regularity. Some again will not come forward without great nouriſhment, much ſun-ſhine, and conſtant encouragement. Thoſe only are to be thrown out of the garden of education, who are never likely to make a head, and whoſe ſap lies all at the bottom.

The authors, who have written on the ſubject of education, are numerous; and they all agree, as indeed they all muſt, that the perſon, who is to have the immediate inſpection and care of a young man, ought to be as diſtinguiſhed for morals, as for knowledge; and as ſtrict in virtue, as diligent in ſtudy. Theſe are the exact ſentiments of PLINY, in this epiſtle to CORELLIA HISPULLA.

EPISTLE IV.

PLINY *to* MACRINUS.

ALTHOUGH I have met with approbation, in what I have done, both from my friends, who were preſent, and from the general voice of mankind; yet I look upon it of great conſequence to me, to know your ſentiments: for, as I ſhould have wiſhed, before the affair was undertaken, to have had your advice; ſo, now it is over, I no leſs earneſtly deſire to receive your opinion. When I was gone into *Tuſcany*, to execute a public work, at my own expence, and had received my paſs as treaſurer; the deputies from the province of *Andaluſia*, who intended to complain of CÆCILIUS CLASSICUS, during the

the time of his being proconſul there, petitioned the ſenate to appoint me for their advocate. My colleagues in the treaſury, my beſt and moſt affectionate friends, endeavoured to excuſe and exempt me from that burden, by repreſenting the neceſſity of my attendance for the diſcharge of our common duty. The decree, which paſſed, upon this occaſion, in the ſenate, was very much to my honour. It was, that "I ſhould be advocate for theſe provincials, "if they could obtain my own conſent." The deputies, being again brought into the ſenate, renewed their requeſt, in my preſence, that I ſhould be appointed their advocate; imploring the benefit of my faithful aſſiſtance, which they had experienced againſt MASSA BÆBIUS; and alledging the right they had to my patronage. A loud and unanimous aſſent of the ſenate followed; ſuch as uſually foreruns the pronouncing their decrees. Upon which, I thus addreſſed myſelf to the ſenate: "Conſcript fathers, "I now no longer think, that I offered any juſt rea-"ſons of excuſe." Both the modeſty, and the manner of my ſpeech, pleaſed them. Not only the conſent of the ſenate, although that chiefly, but other motives, of leſs value indeed, though many in number, brought me to this reſolution. I remembered, that our anceſtors uſed, of their own accord, to proſecute the injuries offered to their private and particular gueſts: for which reaſon, I thought it much more ſhameful, to give up the rights of public hoſpitality. Beſides, when I recollected how many difficulties, and even dangers, I had undergone, in my former aſſiſtance, in the cauſe of theſe *Andaluſians*, it ſeemed neceſſary for me, to preſerve the memory of my paſt ſervices, by adding to them a new inſtance of friendſhip. For, ſuch is the nature of mankind, that the gratitude for all former obligations is loſt, unleſs you continue it by adding new favours; and though you have often obliged, yet one denial is for

ever remembered. I was farther induced to this undertaking, becauſe CLASSICUS was dead, and conſequently the accuſation of a ſenator, which, in caſes of this kind, is uſually the moſt irkſome and diſagreeable part of the duty, was removed. I imagined, therefore, I ſhould gain as much reputation by this cauſe, without making any enemies, as if CLASSICUS were ſtill alive. Laſtly, I thought, if I diſcharged this office for them now, a third time, I might more eaſily find an excuſe, if, hereafter, they ſhould happen to complain of any perſon, againſt whom I ought not to appear. For ſince we muſt put ſome period to all our offices of friendſhip, we can then aſſume that liberty with a better grace, when we have prepared the way to it by many former acts of kindneſs.

You have heard the motives of my reſolution: it remains, that you give your judgement on one ſide, or the other; in doing which, the honeſt freedom of your diſſent will be equally as agreeable to me, as the authority of your approbation. Farewell.

OBSERVATIONS.

Although, at firſt ſight, this epiſtle may ſeem to carry in it an air of vanity, yet, upon examination, it will be found to have none. Vanity conſiſts in an unneceſſary boaſt of our own merits, or of praiſes beſtowed upon us, whether well or ill grounded. This was not PLINY's caſe. He writes to a friend, to condemn, or approve, what he had done. He cannot then avoid telling the facts as they were; and he makes no proud comments upon thoſe facts, but modeſtly ſays, that the unanimous conſent of the ſenate, given in a manner much to his honour, joined to ſome other conſiderations, induced him to undertake the cauſe of the *Andaluſians*: an account of which, though it ought to have preceded this letter, will be found in the ninth epiſtle of this book.

Legati provinciæ Bæticæ, queſturi de proconſulatu CÆCILII CLASSICI, *advocatum me a ſenatu petierunt:* "The Legates "of

" of the province of Bætica moving for an enquiry into the " proconſulſhip of CÆCILIUS CLASSICUS, claimed me, in " the ſenate, as their advocate." The *advocatus*, in the primitive, uncorrupted ages of *Rome*, ſignified not only the lawyer, but the friend; a diſintereſted perſon, who undertook the defence of his client, upon the principles of generoſity, and the motives of true honour; one, who acted not only without view of reward, but abſolutely from a deſire of relieving the oppreſſed, and giving, not ſelling, juſtice to the injured. As bribery and baſeneſs made their way into the ſtate, the office of advocate became, like other offices, mercenary and venal. TACITUS expreſly ſays, *nec quidquam publicæ mercis tam venale fuit quam advocatorum perfidia* [e]: " Among even commodities, that bore a public " price, nothing was ſo avowedly ſaleable as the wavering " faith of the advocates." That hiſtorian then goes on to mention a Roman knight, named SAMIUS, who, finding that he had been betrayed by his advocate, fell upon his own ſword in the houſe of the betrayer: an ill-judged kind of revenge, and of the ſame ſort with that romantic piece of honour in the *Pruſſian* officer, who, being ſtruck at the head of his regiment by the prince royal, drew out his piſtol and ſhot himſelf. If death is to enſue in theſe caſes, let it fall upon the guilty, not the innocent; or, to quote the words of a modern author, " If I am to die, it ſhall be for " ridding the world of an arrant villain." But the *Andaluſians* knew PLINY ſo well, that they requeſted him as an advocate, in the original ſenſe of the word. They deſired, he might appear openly as their friend, becauſe they were ſure, he would act honeſtly as their lawyer.

Ut darer provincialibus patronus, ſi ab ipſo me impetraſſent: " The ſenate declared, that I ſhould be a patron to the pro- " vinces, if they could prevail upon me to aſſume that cha- " racter." The word *patronus* here, like the preceding word *advocatus*, refers to the ſenſe and meaning it bore, when the *patroni* were firſt inſtituted at *Rome*. The clients conſtantly ſheltered themſelves under the wings of their patrons, and were to be protected by them from all birds of prey whatever: ſo that *patrocinii fœdus*, which was urged by the *Andaluſians* in regard of PLINY, was the league of patronage, the indiſpenſable tye of the patron to his

[e] TACIT. Annal. lib. xi. cap. 5.

client. "You became formerly, ſaid the *Bætici*, our pa-
"tron; we had the happineſs to be your clients: the ſacred
"covenant ſtill ſubſiſts between theſe two relations, and
"you ought not to break your part of that covenant, ſince
"we never failed in ours."

Veniebat in mentem priores noſtros etiam ſingulorum hoſpitum injurias accuſationibus voluntariis exſecutos, quo deformius arbitrabar publici hoſpitii jura negligere: "I could not avoid
"recollecting, that our anceſtors voluntarily puniſhed and
"brought to juſtice the perſons, who had infringed private
"hoſpitality: their reſentments extended to individuals: I
"ſhould deem it therefore uncommon baſeneſs in me not to
"protect the public." Hoſpitality was one of the reigning virtues among the antients: the laws of it were eſteemed ſacred and inviolable. ROMULUS ſet the firſt example of public hoſpitality to his people, by making his new colony an aſylum for all ſtrangers, who would reſort to it. The *Greeks* have two expreſſive words, to ſignify public and private hoſpitality. The firſt they call Πρόξενία, the laſt Ἰδιοξενία. The duties of private hoſpitality were friendſhip, protection, faith, and entertainment; and we may obſerve by this epiſtle, that the *Romans* looked upon themſelves ſo indiſpenſably bound to the diſcharge of theſe duties, that they voluntarily undertook the cauſe of their gueſts, and avenged the wrongs, that the ſtranger had ſuffered, even before he had been received within their gates. "If then, ſays PLINY, our an-
"ceſtors acted in this generous manner towards particular
"perſons, how much more ought I to exert myſelf in de-
"fence of a whole people, each of whom I may look up-
"on as my client, my gueſt, and my friend?"

The other parts of this letter need no explanation; they are unhappily too true. It muſt be allowed, that the refuſal of any one requeſt blots out, and utterly defaces all former obligations: ſuch, alas! is the general ingratitude of mankind. Nor has PLINY leſs reaſon on his ſide, where he ſays, it is dangerous to provoke a ſenator. Great men, like bees, muſt remain undiſturbed in their cell; for whoever provokes one of the ſwarm, runs the hazard of being ſtung by the whole hive, at leaſt, by the majority.

EPISTLE

EPISTLE V.

PLINY *to* MACER.

I Am extremely pleaſed, that you read my uncle's books ſo diligently, as to be deſirous to procure them all, and to know exactly, of what books he has been the author. I will perform the part of an index; and will alſo point out to you the order, in which they were written: a piece of knowledge, that cannot be unacceptable to the learned.

When he had a command in the army [f], he compoſed a treatiſe, of equal ſpirit and correctneſs, concerning the art of managing the javelin on horſeback.

Two books on the life of POMPONIUS SECUNDUS, in whoſe affections he had always held a very particular place; and therefore theſe memoirs were written in gratitude to the memory of ſuch a friend.

Twenty books of the wars of *Germany*, in which he has included all the wars we ever had with the *Germans*. He began this performance when he was an officer in *Germany*, and was admoniſhed to it by a dream; for, in his ſleep, he ſaw the figure of DRUSUS NERO ſtand before him, who, after having extended his conqueſts over the greateſt part of *Germany*, died there. The apparition recommended the memory of his actions to my uncle, and entreated him to reſcue his name from the injury of oblivion.

Three books, entituled, *The men of letters*. Their bulk required them to be divided into ſix volumes; and in theſe he begins with the orator in his cradle, and perfects him at the bar.

[f] The latin is, *Cum præfectus alæ militaret*. Each wing of the Roman army had a præfect appointed by the conſul, who governed in the ſame manner as the legionary tribunes.

In his younger years, under NERO's government, he wrote eight books, concerning the doubtful figures of grammar. The ſlavery of thoſe times had rendered all performances of a freer and a higher nature dangerous.

One and thirty books, that are a continuation of AUFIDIUS BASSUS's hiſtory.

Seven and thirty books of natural hiſtory: a diffuſive work, learned, and not leſs diverſified than nature itſelf.

You wonder, how a man, ſo conſtantly employed in buſineſs, could write ſo many volumes, many of which were upon ſuch nice ſubjects; and your wonder will ſtill encreaſe, when you are told, that he was a pleader for ſome years, and that he died at the age of fifty ſix. The reſt of his time was filled up, and embarraſſed by thoſe great employments, which his favour with ſeveral of our emperors procured him: but he was a moſt piercing genius, incredibly fond of knowledge, with the cloſeſt application.

He conſtantly began his nocturnal lucubrations at the feaſt of VULCAN [g]; not becauſe it was an auſpicious ſeaſon, but, becauſe it was a proper time for ſtudy: in the ſummer, at the beginning of the night; but in winter, at one o'clock in the morning, or, at lateſt, at two, often at twelve at midnight. He made his hours of ſleep perfectly convenient [h]; ſometimes, between his hours of ſtudy, and ſometimes, as ſoon as they were over. Before it was day, he waited on the emperor VESPASIAN, who allotted his nights alſo to ſtudy; and from thence he proceeded to execute the orders he had received: then he returned home, and again employed his ſpare time in ſtudy. After dinner, a meal, which, according to

[g] The *Vulcanalia* began on the twenty third of *Auguſt*.

[h] *Erat ſane ſomni paratiſſimi.* Some editions have it, *ſomni parciſſimi*: "a little ſleep ſufficed him." The firſt ſeems moſt ſuitable to what follows.

the

the cuſtom of our anceſtors, he made light and eaſy, in the ſummer, if he had any leiſure, he lay down in the ſun, whilſt a book was read to him; upon which he criticiſed, and took out particular paſſages: for he never read any thing without making an extract of it; it being his conſtant ſaying, that "no "book was ſo bad, but ſomething might be learned "from it." After having thus baſked himſelf in the ſun, he commonly bathed in cold water, and then eat a little, and ſlept leſs. Then again, as if it had been a new day, he ſtudied till ſupper time; and during ſupper a book was read, and curſory remarks made upon it. I remember, when one of his friends reprimanded the perſon, who was reading, for ſome wrong pronunciation, and obliged him to begin again, my uncle ſaid to his friend, "Did you under-"ſtand what he read?" to which the other replied, "he did;" "why then, rejoined my uncle, would "you force him to begin again? we have loſt above "ten lines by your interruption." So parſimonious was he of his time. In ſummer, he roſe from ſupper before it was dark; in winter, ſoon after the cloſe of night: and this as punctually, as if it had been an indiſpenſable law; nay, he did it amidſt all his buſineſs, and the hurry of the city. In the country, the time of bathing only was exempt from ſtudy. When I mention bathing, I mean the time when he was actually in the bath: for, whilſt he was rubbed and wiped, he either heard ſomething read to him, or dictated ſomething to others. Upon a journey, releaſed, as it were, from the cares, which at other times moleſted him, he applied himſelf to this ſingle labour only. His amanuenſis, who went with him with a book, and all the implements of writing, wore gloves upon his hands in winter, leſt the ſeverity of the weather ſhould make him loſe any time: and, for that reaſon, my uncle himſelf, when in *Rome*, was always carried in a chair. I remember, I was once reprimanded

reprimanded by him for walking. "You need not, "ſays he, miſpend your hours in this manner:" for he thought all time loſt, that was not employed in ſtudy. By this conſtant application he finiſhed ſo many volumes; and left me one hundred and ſixty books of choice remarks, written on both ſides, and in a very ſmall hand, which makes them ſtill more numerous. He told me, that when he was governor in *Spain*, he might have ſold theſe commentaries to LARTIUS LICINIUS for four hundred thouſand ſeſterces [1]; and at that time they were leſs voluminous.

Does he not ſeem to you, upon knowing how much he has read, and how much he has wrote, never to have been in any public poſt, nor ever in favour with any one of our emperors? Again, when you hear with what aſſiduity he proſecuted his ſtudies, does he not ſeem, neither to have read, nor to have wrote enough? For, what would not thoſe employments hinder? or, what would not ſuch application effect? I always ſmile, therefore, when they call me ſtudious, who, in compariſon of him, am the idleſt man alive; and yet it is only when compared to him; for the ſervices I am employed in, towards the public, and towards my friends, take up all my hours. But which of thoſe, who dedicate even their whole life to literature, when compared to him, would not bluſh, as if they had paſſed their time in ſleep and indolence? I have run out my letter into a tedious length, though I only intended to write what you required, a liſt of the books my uncle left. However, I am confident, that what I have told you will be as acceptable as the books themſelves: becauſe thoſe particulars may excite you not only to read them, but may ſpur you up to an emulation of equalling him, in ſome branches of his labour. Farewell.

[1] [*Quadringentis millibus nummum*] equal to 3229 *l.* 3 *s.* 4 *d.*

O B.

OBSERVATIONS.

Nulla dies ſine libro, was the maxim, which ſeems to have governed the elder PLINY's ſtudies: and yet, from amongſt the many volumes he wrote, none have eſcaped down to our times, except his natural hiſtory; a work of greater labour than reputation. Monſieur BAYLE condemns him as too credulous an author; and Monſieur ROLLIN, who ſpeaks more advantageouſly of him, ſays, he is full of faults. He was, in ſome meaſure, excuſable for his credulity, as he was of a religion, that led him to believe innumerable abſurdities: and his faults may claim ſome indulgence, as he wrote on ſubjects, which were then extremely difficult and dark. Of all parts of learning, natural philoſophy has received the greateſt improvements, within theſe latter ages. No real knowledge, no true inſight into the works of nature, could poſſibly be attained, from the confuſed notions and dark expreſſions of the old philoſophers and ſchoolmen: but, from the time that experimental philoſophy has been cultivated among us, a noble foundation has been laid for diſcovering the true methods, which almighty GOD has thought fit to eſtabliſh, in carrying on his wiſe purpoſes throughout this material world. Our faculties are permitted to make as great a progreſs in theſe diſcoveries, as the ſtate of our condition here requires; and farther we cannot, becauſe we need not, go. Therefore, in matters purely ſpeculative, where the good of mankind is not concerned, perhaps thoſe determinations in philoſophy, which ſeem to us perfectly well founded, and built on rocks immoveable, may hereafter be as much decried, as the notions of PLINY and ARISTOTLE are at preſent. However, PLINY, notwithſtanding the unfaſhionableneſs of his philoſophy, ſtill preſerves ſome degree of veneration: he is often quoted; and, perhaps, is moſt entertaining where he is leaſt uſeful. He was a man bred up, we find, to arms and erudition; he made a conſiderable figure in the camp and at the council-board; and was greatly eſteemed by VESPASIAN and TITUS. His manner of life, and a liſt of all his writings, are more particularly ſpecified in this epiſtle, than in any other place: but the wonder, at his having written ſo much on ſuch difficult ſubjects, and amidſt ſuch conſtant buſineſs, in ſome meaſure ceaſes, when we recollect the works and employments of our own countryman, the great lord BACON.

EPISTLE

EPISTLE VI.

PLINY *to* CATILIUS SEVERUS.

I Have bought lately, out of the money that fell to me by inheritance, a Corinthian ſtatue. It is ſmall indeed, but handſome, and done to the life, according to my judgement; which, though little in all things, in theſe ſort of things is leaſt: however, I pretend to underſtand this particular figure. It is naked; and the faults, if it has any, appear open to cenſure: the beauties too appear as openly to praiſe. It repreſents an old man ſtanding upright. The bones, the muſcles, the nerves, the veins, and the wrinkles, carry in them all the appearances of life. The few ſcattered hairs upon the head are falling off; the forehead is large, the face ſhriveled, the neck lean, the arms lank, the breaſts flat, the belly contracted.

The back diſcovers the ſame ſigns of age as the fore part; and the braſs itſelf, by the colour of it, bears all the marks of a true antique. In ſhort, the whole is ſuch a maſter-piece, as muſt attract the eye of the moſt knowing, but muſt abſolutely captivate the unſkilful; which induced me, novice as I am in theſe curioſities, to make the purchaſe. But I bought it not to adorn my own houſe, having as yet no Corinthians there, but to put up in one of the moſt remarkable places of our native ſoil, and in the temple of JUPITER, preferable to any other. It appears an offering worthy of the temple, worthy of the God. Do you, therefore, with whom my requeſts always find weight, undertake this piece of trouble, and order a pedeſtal to be made immediately, out of what marble you pleaſe, whereon may be contained my name, and my titles, if you think they ought to be added. I will ſend you the ſtatue by

by the firſt perſon, who will be troubled with the carriage of it; or, what you would rather chuſe, I will bring it myſelf: for I intend to make an excurſion to you, if the buſineſs of my poſt will give me leave. I ſee joy in your looks, when I promiſe to come; but you contract your countenance again, when I am forced to add, I can ſtay only ſome few days: for the ſame reaſons, that hinder my coming ſooner, will prevent my longer ſtay. Farewell.

OBSERVATIONS.

HORACE deſcribes a man, going mad after antient ſtatues:

Inſanit veteres ſtatuas DAMASIPPUS *emendo.*

"While antient ſtatues DAMASIPPUS buys,
"His reaſon he diſcards, to pleaſe his eyes."

And the ſame eager love of antique ſtatues prevailed in PLINY's days, as is now prevalent among the *virtuoſi*. The ſtatue, here deſcribed, is of a very old man; and every part is ſo minutely ſpecified, that we behold the figure of age before us. A melancholy proſpect at beſt! To leave, therefore, a more agreeable idea upon the mind, the reader will accept of a copy of verſes, written upon the pedeſtal of a modern DIANA.

1.

See, where DIANA's radiant charms
In all their pow'r confeſt,
Reprove the eye her beauty warms,
And check each wiſhful breaſt.

2.

Well may the marble, taught by art,
Each forward hope controul;
For while her ſmiles attract the heart,
Her chaſtneſs wins the ſoul.

3. Her

3.

Her meek, and half averted eye,
To each beholder tells,
Virtue can paſſion's ſuit deny,
And with her, virtue dwells.

4.

Yet while the Goddeſs I ſurvey,
I burn with fierce deſire:
What eyes can o'er ſuch beauty ſtray?
What heart reſiſt the fire?

5.

To her I run with eager pace,
And call her all my own;
But, lifeleſs, to my warm embrace
She proves a very ſtone.

6.

Oh! that PYGMALION's fate were mine,
And to indulge my flame,
Some pitying god, with breath divine,
Would animate the frame.

7.

My goddeſs though transform'd, might ſhare
The fame ſhe had of old,
Might ſhine to all like marble fair,
To all, but me, as cold.

EPISTLE

EPISTLE VII.

PLINY *to* CANINIUS RUFUS.

I Am juſt now told, that SILIUS ITALICUS has ſtarved himſelf to death, at his country houſe near *Naples*. The cauſe was his ill health. He ſuffered ſo much by a cancerous humour, which was become abſolutely incurable, that he grew weary of life, and haſtened his own end, with a conſtancy not to be moved. He was bleſſed and happy to the laſt day of his life, except in the loſs of the younger of his two ſons: however, he has left the elder, the worthier man of the two, in a flouriſhing, and even in a conſular ſtate. He had ſullied his character in the time of NERO: he was thought to have accuſed ſeveral perſons officiouſly. But, under the favour of VITELLIUS, he behaved himſelf wiſely, and with great humanity. He brought away with him a large ſhare of glory from his Aſiatic proconſulſhip, and expunged the blots of his former ſeverity, by a moſt commendable retreat. He lived among the great men without power, and without envy. He was much reſpected, and much viſited, out of regard to his perſon, not to his fortune, even though he often kept his bed, and was always confined to his chamber. Thoſe days, which he did not employ in writing, he ſpent in learned converſation. He wrote verſes, with more pains and exactneſs, than wit: and now and then, to try the opinion of mankind, he repeated ſome of his works in public. At length, he retired from *Rome*, his age prompting him to ſuch a reſolution, and ſettled himſelf in *Campania*; nor ſtirred from thence, even upon the acceſſion of a new prince to the throne. The emperor deſerves the higheſt applauſe, for giving ſuch a liberty, and ITALICUS no leſs, for daring to uſe it. He was much taken

taken with all fine things; in which he was more guided by appetite than judgement: and he underwent cenſure accordingly. He had ſeveral villas in the ſame country, and neglected the old, as ſoon as he became enamoured of a new purchaſe. He had in each villa a great number of books, ſtatues, and pictures; and theſe he not only enjoyed, but adored. The ſtatue of VIRGIL held the firſt place in his veneration. He celebrated the birth-day of that poet with greater ſolemnity than his own; eſpecially at *Naples*, where he viſited VIRGIL's tomb with the ſame reverence, as if it had been a temple. In this tranquil ſtate of life he outlived his ſeventy fifth year, rather with a delicate, than an infirm conſtitution: and as he was the laſt conſul made by NERO, ſo he died the laſt of all thoſe conſuls, whom NERO had made. It is alſo remarkable, that as he died the laſt of NERO's conſuls, ſo NERO died, when he was conſul: a circumſtance, which brings into my mind the tranſient ſtate of human nature. For, alas! what is ſo circumſcribed, what is ſo ſhort, as the longeſt life of man? Does it not ſeem to you, as if NERO was alive but yeſterday? And yet, of all his conſuls, there is not one remaining. But, why do I think this wonderful? LUCIUS PISO, the father of that PISO, who was barbarouſly murdered by VALERIUS FESTUS in *Africa*, uſed to ſay, that he did not ſee any ſingle man in the ſenate, whoſe opinion he had demanded when he was conſul. Within ſuch narrow limits are the lives of ſo great a multitude confined! To me, therefore, the royal tears, ſhed upon a reflexion of this kind, ſeem not only pardonable, but worthy of praiſe; for they ſay, that XERXES, upon a review of his immenſe army, wept to conſider, that of ſuch a number of men, in a very little time, not one would be living. But this ought to incite us to employ our time, fleeting and tranſitory as it is, if not in great actions, (for thoſe may

may be deſtined to other hands,) yet certainly in ſtudy: and as it may not be permitted us to live long, let us leave ſomething behind, to ſhew that we have lived. I know you want no admonitions: but my affection for you calls upon me to encourage you in your race, as you have uſually encouraged me. Noble is the contention, when friends, by mutual exhortations, ſpirit up each other to the love of immortality. Farewell.

OBSERVATIONS.

PLINY, ſpeaking of ITALICUS, ſays, *Fuit inter principes civitatis ſine potentiâ, ſine invidiâ. Salutabatur, colebatur, multúmque in lectulo jacens, cubiculo ſemper, non ex fortunâ frequenti:* "He lived among the leading men of character, with-"out power, and without envy. His perſon, not his fortune, "attracted to him, confined as he was to his bed, many viſits, "and much reſpect." Great endowments of the mind are apt to charm us into compaſſion, where, perhaps, we ought to ſhew abhorrence, or, at leaſt, contempt. We forget the villain, and adore the man, who may be compared to the character of JUPITER, a mixture of power and vice. But, in truth, no abilities can make amends for treachery; nor can the beſt head atone for a bad heart. PLINY, with his uſual humanity, ſays all in defence of ITALICUS, that can be ſaid; nay, he even ſpeaks diffidently of the baſe part he had acted; *Credebatur ſponte accuſaſſe.* "He was ſuſpected "to have been one of NERO's [k] ſpies: but during the "reign of VITELLIUS, continues our author, and during "his own proconſulſhip in *Aſia*, he ſtood firm in a courſe "of virtue; and, at laſt, by a well-judged retreat, wiped off "thoſe ſtains, which his former miſconduct had contracted." PLINY is miſtaken. No retreat can wipe off the ſtains of villainy. Virtue, like the ermin, will die, rather than receive a ſpot; or, to conſider her in the character of a deity, ſhe expects a conſtant, uninterrupted ſacrifice; and ſhuts her temple for ever againſt thoſe votaries, who forſake it but for a moment. However, the future behaviour and perſeverance of ITALICUS might, perhaps, gain him a per-

[k] Vide TACITI Hiſt. lib. 3. cap. 65.

miſſion to ſtand within the ſhadow of the dome. There is no occaſion to enter into any minute particulars of his character; it is ſufficiently known. MARTIAL celebrates him often; and, in the forty ninth epigram of the eleventh book, tells us, that he had purchaſed TULLY's villa at *Tuſculum* [1]. We find by PLINY, that he had various country ſeats, and was conſequently rich. I am afraid he made his fortune under NERO; although it is certain, he was deſcended of a very noble and a very antient family. He was born in the reign of TIBERIUS, and died in his ſeventy ſixth year, chuſing death, as preferable to enduring the acute pain of a cancerous ſwelling; which, GALEN tells us, is called *clavus*, becauſe it affects the patient with the ſame ſenſation of torment, as if a nail was fixed in the part.

[1] Silius hæc magni celebrat monumenta Maronis
Jugera facundi qui Ciceronis habet.
Hæredem, dominumque, ſui tumulique, Lariſque
Non alium mallet, nec Maro, nec Cicero.

EPISTLE VIII.

PLINY *to* SUETONIUS TRANQUILLUS.

YOU act agreeably to that regard, which you pay me in other inſtances, by ſo earneſt a ſolicitation, that I would transfer the military tribuneſhip, which I obtained for you from that excellent man, NERATIUS MARCELLUS, to your near relation, CÆSENNIUS SILVANUS. Be aſſured, that as it would have been the greateſt pleaſure to me to ſee you a tribune, it will be no leſs ſatisfactory to me, to ſee another in that office by your means. For I cannot think it conſiſtent, that, while I am endeavouring to raiſe any perſon to the higheſt honours, I ſhould envy him a character above all honours, that of a faithful and affectionate relation. And ſince it is equally excellent to merit, and to confer benefits, I ſee you are reſolved to lay claim to the praiſe of both, by giving to another what you have deſerved yourſelf.

ſelf. Beſides, I am not ignorant of my own ſhare of the glory, when it is once publicly known, that my friends are not only able to fill the office of military tribune, but even to give it: for which reaſon I moſt willingly obey your generous requeſt. Nor is your name as yet upon the roll; and therefore we are at liberty to ſubſtitute SILVANUS in your place, who, I hope, will be no leſs pleaſed with the favours received from you, than you were with thoſe received from me. Farewell.

OBSERVATIONS.

A generous heart, like PLINY's, can never be happier than when employed in conferring favours. The power of doing good is the only part of royalty to be envied; and, were it not for that glorious and godlike prerogative, a man might as well wiſh to be a king, *to ride on a gate all day*, as for any other privileges, annexed to the crown. Neareſt in power to the king is his favourite miniſter: he is the channel, through which the royal bleſſings are to flow; and PLINY was in that poſt of dignity, and danger, when he wrote this epiſtle. It is addreſſed to SUETONIUS TRANQUILLUS, the hiſtorian, one of our author's principal friends, and whom he had named, ſome time before, to the office of military tribune; but now, at the requeſt of SUETONIUS, he makes a promiſe of that tribuneſhip to CÆSENNIUS SILVANUS. If we look back upon the character of TRANQUILLUS, given in the twenty fourth epiſtle of the firſt book, we ſhall find him delineated there as a philoſopher, rather than a ſoldier. He had, indeed, begun the world by going into the army. He was tribune of the third legion under OTHO; but, tired probably of that life, he endeavours, we ſee, in the reign of TRAJAN, to whom he was afterwards ſecretary, to withdraw from the command, to which he had been nominated, and to place his relation SILVANUS in his room.

There is, I confeſs, ſome degree of vanity in this epiſtle; a vanity, which is frequently inſeparable from a love of power: for ſuch is the frailty of human nature, that we are not content with knowing we have power, unleſs others know it alſo.

EPISTLE IX.

PLINY *to* MINUTIANUS.

I Can now give you a full account of the labour and pains, which I have taken in the public cauſe of the province of *Andaluſia:* for it conſiſted of many parts, and was frequently pleaded in various methods. Whence this variety? whence ſo many different pleadings? CÆCILIUS CLASSICUS, a baſe, and notoriouſly wicked man, behaved himſelf as violently and vilely, during his proconſulſhip in *Andaluſia*, as MARIUS PRISCUS did, the ſame year, in *Africa*. But PRISCUS was born in *Andaluſia*, and CLASSICUS in *Africa*; from whence the *Andaluſians*, (for even grief ſometimes makes men witty,) vented a ſtinging reflexion: "I have given one evil, and I have receiv-"ed another." But MARIUS was accuſed only by one particular city, and by many private perſons: CLASSICUS was proſecuted by the weight of a whole province. He prevented the conſequences of that proſecution by a ſudden, or a voluntary death. His end was diſhonourable, and yet doubtful: for as it ſeemed likely, that he was willing to die, from a conſciouſneſs of not being able to withſtand the accuſation; ſo was it wonderful, that he, who could die, to avoid the ſhame of being condemned, was not aſhamed to commit thoſe crimes, that deſerved condemnation. Nevertheleſs, the *Andaluſians* perſiſted in their proſecution of him after his death. This had been eſtabliſhed and provided for by laws, grown obſolete and out of uſe, but now, after a long interval of time, reſtored to their former force and power. The *Andaluſians* added an accuſation againſt the miniſters of CLASSICUS, and of all thoſe, who were ſuppoſed to be accomplices in his crimes; and demanded a particular enquiry into the conduct of each perſon by name. I was advocate for the *Andaluſians*,

hiſians, and LUCEIUS ALBINUS was joined with me; a man copious and florid in his diction, whom though I loved, and was mutually beloved by him before, yet now my affection for him was increaſed by reaſon of our joint office. The thirſt of glory, eſpecially in performances of this kind, has generally ſomething in it extremely unſociable; but between us there was no diviſion, no contention; ſince we both drew equally in the ſame yoke, not for ourſelves, but for the cauſe: and it ſeemed to be for the advantage of a cauſe of ſo great conſequence, that we ſhould not undertake too much labour in every pleading, but relieve and aſſiſt each other, by taking different parts. We feared, that neither the day, nor our voices, nor our lungs were ſufficient for the work, if we ſhould proſecute ſo many crimes, and ſo many impeached perſons, and comprize them all, as it were, in one body. Then again, the minds and attention of the judges would not only be tired, but confounded by ſo many different names and arguments. We apprehended too, that the intereſt and reputation of each of the accuſed, when heaped up and blended together, might procure to each individual the whole weight and influence of them all. Laſtly, we imagined, that the moſt powerful might eſcape, at the expence of others, by giving up the meaneſt and moſt contemptible to juſtice, as an atonement for the reſt: for favour and intereſt are then moſt powerful, when they can ſcreen themſelves under ſome ſpecious pretence of ſeverity. We remembered the example of SERTORIUS, who commanded the ſtrongeſt and weakeſt of his ſoldiers to pull off the tail of a horſe[m]. You know the reſt. We concluded, in the ſame manner, that the whole number of the perſons accuſed might at laſt be con-

[m] This ſtory is told at full length by PLUTARCH, in his life of SERTORIUS; and is alluded to by HORACE, in his famous epiſtle to AUGUSTUS.

victed, by carrying on their proſecutions ſeparately. We determined firſt to ſhew, that CLASSICUS was guilty. This was the fitteſt ſtep to take, in order to come at his aſſociates and miniſters; becauſe they could not be convicted, unleſs he was guilty. Out of the tribe we ſelected two, BÆBIUS PROBUS and FABIUS HISPANUS, whom we added, and joined in the accuſation of CLASSICUS. They were both men of great intereſt, and HISPANUS particularly remarkable for eloquence. The trouble about CLASSICUS was ſhort and eaſy. He had left a writing under his hand, giving an account of what, and how much he had taken, from whence, and for what reaſons. He had likewiſe ſent a boaſting, impudent letter to *Rome*, to a certain little miſtreſs, whom he kept there, in theſe very words: "Rejoice! rejoice! I come to you "a great man: I have diſpoſed of ſo much of the "property of the *Andaluſians*, as amounts to four "thouſand great ſeſterces [n]." We had much more difficulty with HISPANUS and PROBUS. Before I attempted to enter upon a detail of their crimes, I thought it neceſſary to prove, that the execution of an unjuſt ſentence was in itſelf highly criminal. If I had not taken this method, it would have been in vain to have proved them the miniſters of CLASSICUS in his villainies: for, in their defence, they did not deny the facts charged on them, but pleaded the neceſſity they were under to obey their maſter, and therefore humbly prayed for pardon: they urged, moreover, that they were provincials, and therefore were obliged, through fear, to comply with all the commands of the proconſul. CLAUDIUS RESTITUTUS, who anſwered me, (an experienced and vigilant advocate) although perfectly ready at replying to ſudden charges or objections, has ſince often ſaid, that he was never more perplexed and confounded, than

[n] Which amount, in our money, to 32,358 *l.* 9 *s.* 2 *d.*

when

when he perceived, that the chief arguments, which he had prepared for his defence, and in which he had placed all his confidence, were defeated before he had an opportunity to make uſe of them. Our conduct had this iſſue. The ſenate decreed, that the effects of CLASSICUS, before he was proconſul, ſhould be ſeparated from the reſt, and ſhould be given to his daughter; and that the remainder ſhould be left for thoſe, who had been robbed and pillaged by him: and they added, that the money, which he had paid his creditors, ſhould be repaid. HISPANUS and PROBUS were baniſhed for five years. So wicked, in the end, did their actions appear, which the ſenate, in the beginning of the trial, thought hardly criminal. Some few days after, we accuſed CLAVIUS FUSCUS, the ſon-in-law of CLASSICUS, and STILLONIUS PRISCUS, who had been tribune of a cohort under CLASSICUS, with different ſucceſs. PRISCUS was baniſhed *Italy* for two years, FUSCUS was acquitted. We thought it moſt convenient to join many in our third charge, leſt, if this enquiry was drawn into a greater length, the juſtice and ſeverity of the judges might leſſen by the ſatiety and tediouſneſs of the accuſations. Beſides, the criminals, who remained, deſignedly reſerved for trial to this time, were perſons of no great conſequence; except the wife of CLASSICUS, againſt whom, although there were ſtrong ſuſpicions, yet there was not ſufficient proof to convict her. As for the daughter of CLASSICUS, who was amongſt the accuſed, there was no ground even of ſuſpicion againſt her: therefore, when I came to mention her name in this laſt proſecution (for we did not, towards the latter end, fear, as in the beginning, that the force of the whole accuſation would be leſſened by this joint proceeding) I thought it diſhonourable to urge any thing hard againſt a perſon, who appeared to be innocent; and upon this occaſion I ſpoke my thoughts freely, and variouſly: for I not only aſked

the [9] ambaſſadors: "whether they had informed me "of any thing, which they believed might be prov- "ed againſt her;" but I alſo begged advice of the ſenate, "whether they thought, that if I had any "power in eloquence, I ought to uſe it like a ſword "againſt the throat of an innocent perſon:" and then I concluded with theſe words, "Somebody may "ſay, Do you pretend to be a judge?" "No, I "do not pretend to be a judge; but I muſt remem- "ber, that I was appointed advocate from among "the judges." Thus ended a cauſe, in which ſo many were engaged. Some were acquitted, more were condemned, and baniſhed; ſome only for a time, others for ever. Our induſtry, our integrity, and our conſtancy were unanimouſly approved by the ſame decree of the ſenate: the worthy and only equal reward to ſo great labour. You may eaſily conceive how much we were fatigued, who were obliged to plead ſo often, to diſpute ſo often, to examine ſo many witneſſes, to aſſiſt ſome, and to confute others. How difficult, how troubleſome was it to us to reſiſt the private interceſſions of the friends of the accuſed, and to bear up againſt thoſe who publicly oppoſed us! I ſhall mention one of the many things I ſaid upon the occaſion. When ſome of the very judges interrupted me, in behalf of one of the accuſed, who was moſt in their favour; I anſwered, "If this man be really innocent, he will "not be leſs ſo, when I have ſaid all I have to ſay." From hence you will conjecture, how great ſtruggles, and even animoſities, we laboured under: but this laſted a ſhort time only; for that integrity, which for the preſent offends thoſe whom it oppoſes, is ſoon after admired and applauded by the ſame perſons. I could not inform you more fully of this af-

[9] The deputies from *Andaluſia* to ſolicit the cauſe. See Ep. iv. of this book.

fair.

fair. You will ſay, it was not of ſuch mighty conſequence; for what have I to do with ſuch a long epiſtle? do not enquire then what is doing at *Rome:* and yet remember, that the epiſtle cannot be long, which comprehends the buſineſs of ſo many days, and gives an account of ſo many hearings, ſuch a number of criminals, and the various events of this proceſs; all which, I think, I have deſcribed both conciſely and carefully. I have been raſh in ſaying carefully; for ſomething occurs, which I had forgot, and indeed it is now a little late; but though it comes in aukwardly, you ſhall hear it. HOMER does the ſame thing, and many follow his example; which, upon ſome occaſions, is very ornamental. However, that is not my reaſon for mentioning it thus.

One of the witneſſes, whether provoked, that he had been forced to appear againſt his will, or whether ſuborned by any of the perſons arraigned, with intent to leſſen the force of the accuſation, openly charged NORBANUS LICINIANUS, one of the deputies of the province, and a ſollicitor in this cauſe, with prevarication in what related to CASTA, the wife of CLASSICUS. It is a maxim in law, that the principal cauſe be firſt finiſhed, before an enquiry be made into the prevarication; becauſe we can form a better judgement of the prevarication, after having obſerved in what manner the cauſe has been proſecuted. But, in the caſe of NORBANUS, neither the rule of law, nor the character of ambaſſador, nor the office of ſollicitor were of ſervice to him; ſuch high reſentments had he drawn upon himſelf. He was indeed a moſt wicked man, and had done as much miſchief, in the reign of DOMITIAN, as many others; and he had been, at this time, elected by the province as one of their deputies to proſecute this cauſe, not as a good and faithful repreſentative, but only as an enemy to CLASSICUS, by whom he had been

been baniſhed. He deſired a day might be allotted him, to anſwer the crimes alledged againſt him. He was refuſed, and obliged to anſwer inſtantly. He anſwered: his evil and depraved turn of mind makes me doubt, whether I ſhall ſay he defended himſelf impudently or reſolutely; but certainly he did it with great readineſs. Many things were thrown out againſt him, which hurt him more than the charge of prevarication: for two conſular men, POMPONIUS RUFUS and LIBO FRUGI, teſtified, that, in the reign of DOMITIAN, he had aſſiſted the accuſers of SALVIUS LIBERALIS, before the judge. He was condemned, and baniſhed the continent. Therefore, when I accuſed CASTA, I offered nothing more, than that her accuſer was convicted of prevarication. But I offered this in vain: for a new and illegal thing happened, that the accuſed perſon ſhould be acquitted, her accuſer being convicted of prevarication. Do you aſk, what was our conduct while theſe things were tranſacting? We acquainted the ſenate, that we had received our whole information of this public cauſe from NORBANUS, and we ought to enquire into this matter anew, if he was proved a prevaricator. But while he was upon his trial, we ſat down. NORBANUS was afterwards preſent every day of the trials, and ſhewed the ſame reſolution, or impudence, to the laſt. But now let me aſk myſelf again, if I have omitted any thing: yes truly; I had like to have been guilty of a very great omiſſion. SALVIUS LIBERALIS, on the laſt day, charged the reſt of the ambaſſadors, that they had not accuſed all, whom their province had ordered to be accuſed: and as he is impetuous and eloquent, he brought them into danger. I protected thoſe excellent, and, I may add, moſt grateful men. They declare, they were wholly obliged to me for their deliverance from that ſtorm. This ſhall be the end of my epiſtle; in truth, the end. I will not add a ſyllable more, though

though I ſhould ſtill find I had omitted ſomething. Farewell.

OBSERVATIONS.

This epiſtle is inexcuſably miſplaced. If ſenſe and order had been conſulted, it ought to have been put before the fourth epiſtle of this book; becauſe that letter was occaſioned by tranſactions ſpecified here, and was not addreſſed to MACRINUS till the trial of CLASSICUS was over; in which PLINY had complied with the requeſt of the *Andaluſians*, in appearing as their advocate and patron.

To wave all encomiums upon the behaviour of PLINY, which naturally ariſe when this epiſtle is peruſed, let us look into the ſubject matter of the letter itſelf.

It appears, that the crimes both of MARIUS PRISCUS, and of CÆCILIUS CLASSICUS, were committed in one and the ſame year. PRISCUS was tried in the reign of DOMITIAN; and this letter gives us to underſtand, that CLASSICUS and his adherents did not undergo their trial till after DOMITIAN's death. It may be aſked then, what occaſions the difference in point of time? The moſt probable reaſon ſeems to be, that the *Andaluſians* waited to ſee the iſſue of the complaint againſt MARIUS; and not finding his puniſhment equal to his guilt, or conſonant to juſtice, they deſpaired of ſucceſs againſt CLASSICUS, and therefore deferred their proceedings, in hopes of ſome future equitable reign.

In theſe trials, we may perceive the different influence, which the two emperors, DOMITIAN and TRAJAN, had over the ſenate. Under the tyranny of the firſt, the laws were not put in execution againſt PRISCUS; under the golden age of the latter, CLASSICUS and his abettors were puniſhed in the ampleſt manner, and according to law; although I confeſs, the manner of proceeding againſt NORBANUS LICINIANUS was very ſingular. His accuſation was ſudden, and verbal only; and he was obliged to anſwer forthwith; nor was either his trial or condemnation deferred. But PLINY ſays, *Objecta ſunt multa, quæ magis quàm prævaricatio nocuerunt:* "Many crimes, which were objected "to him, hurt him more than his prevarication." If the objections had been ſpecified, perhaps they would have accounted for theſe haſty proceedings: at preſent we can only ſuppoſe,

ſuppoſe, that the ſenate acted on the foundation of reaſon and juſtice.

Nihilominus BÆTICA *etiam in defuncti accuſatione perſtabat. Proviſum hoc legibus, intermiſſum tamen, et poſt longam intercapedinem tunc reductum :* "Nevertheleſs, BÆTICA ſtill "perſiſted in the accuſation of the deceaſed. This practice "was according to the laws of the empire, although, by "long diſuſe, it had been intermitted, and was now re-"ſtored after that intermiſſion." There were two ſorts of crimes, of a public nature, for which the criminals were proſecuted, even after death. One was high treaſon, of which thoſe were guilty, who, to prevent condemnation, killed themſelves. The other was extortion, called by the *Romans*, *repetundæ*. This laſt was the crime of CLASSICUS; and, by the revival of a law grown almoſt obſolete, an action was brought againſt his heirs, in the manner here mentioned. As the death of CLASSICUS was not without ſuſpicion of ſuicide, *mors ejus infamis* ; *ambigua tamen :* "His "death, although the manner of it was uncertain, carried "with it the appearance of infamy:" there was the more reaſon for reviving this obſolete law. But with us, neither any criminal proſecution, nor any forfeiture is legal after death. The final decree, in regard to the chief offender, CÆCILIUS CLASSICUS, is extremely equitable, and becoming the ſenate of *Rome*. "His effects, which he had "in poſſeſſion before he was proconſul, were to be given "to his daughter; and all the reſt of his poſſeſſions, not "only what he had unjuſtly acquired, but alſo what he had "accumulated by the rights and income of his office, were "to be allotted to that nation, which he had robbed." For ſince he had been ſo exorbitant a plunderer in his proconſulſhip, it was certainly right, that his family ſhould not enjoy the profits of his plunder.

There is an obſcurity in the remaining part of the decree: *Ut pecuniæ, quas creditoribus ſolverat, revocarentur :* "That "the ſums, which he had paid his creditors, ſhould be re-"called." By whom was this money to be paid, by the creditors, or by the daughter? The creditors had done no wrong; they were not allied to him, nor were they before the court; and therefore ought not to be bound by any ſentence given by the court. The meaning and purport of the decree ſeems to have been, "that the money, he had "paid his creditors, ſhould be deducted, and taken out of

"that

" that part of his effects, which had belonged to him be-
" fore he was proconſul." Such a determination is agree-able to the firſt part of the ſentence, and founded upon the ſame reaſon, " that all his gains during his proconſulſhip " ſhould be forfeited to the uſe of the injured ; and that his " debts ſhould be paid out of what was his own before that " time."

Although PLINY is univerſally allowed to be a polite author, and although there are many epiſtles more entertaining than this ; yet whenever any of his letters treat of the Roman ſenate, and of the proceedings there, they give a dignity and weight to his writings, that place him among the hiſtorical writers of his time. He is not only the gentleman, but the ſtateſman ; and whilſt ſome of his familiar epiſtles convey to us the wit and elegance of literature and friendſhip ; others, like this, give us an inſight into the cuſtoms, laws, and conſtitution of the people and ſenate of *Rome*.

EPISTLE X.

PLINY *to* SPURINNA, *and* COCCIA *the wife of* SPURINNA.

WHEN I paid my laſt viſit to you, I did not mention, that I had compoſed ſome verſes in honour of your ſon. My chief deſign in writing them was to ſatisfy my affection and my grief, not to talk of my performance. Beſides, SPURINNA, when you heard, that I had publicly repeated a poem, as you yourſelf informed me, I imagined you knew upon what ſubject it was. Again, I was apprehenſive, by reviving your remembrance of that heavy load of ſorrow, I ſhould break in upon a time deſtined to feſtivity : and even now, I have heſitated a little, whether I ſhould gratify COCCIA and you in your requeſt, by ſending thoſe verſes only, I recited ; or whether I ſhould add thoſe, which I intended to preſerve for an additional volume. A ſingle volume, eſpecially when ſo very ſmall, cannot poſſibly

poſſibly contain the entire affection, which I bear to the dear and ever honoured memory of a man, whoſe fame will be the more amply eſtabliſhed, by placing his actions in a juſt and proper light. However, notwithſtanding my heſitations, whether I ought to ſend you all my compoſitions, or whether I ſhould retain part of them in my own cuſtody; it ſeems moſt agreeable to my character, and to the friendſhip I profeſs for you, to ſend you all, eſpecially as I have your promiſe, that they ſhall not be communicated to any other perſon, till I make them public. The only remaining favour I aſk is, that you would uſe the ſame frankneſs with me, in pointing out thoſe paſſages, which you may think ought to be enlarged, altered, or omitted. Nevertheleſs, I confeſs, I find it difficult to fix my attention on this melancholy ſubject; and, without doubt, the ſame difficulty muſt affect you both: but as you would direct a ſtatuary, or a painter, what features to expreſs, and what lines to retouch, in the repreſentation of your ſon; ſo you muſt model and guide me, who am endeavouring to give an image of him, that will neither be brittle, nor ſubject to decay; but will laſt, as you think, to all eternity: and the truer this image, the better; the freer from faults, and the more elegantly finiſhed, the more durable it will remain. Farewell.

OBSERVATIONS.

This epiſtle to COCCIA and SPURINNA ought to have been placed immediately after the firſt epiſtle of this book, in which we have ſeen the life and character of VESTRICIUS SPURINNA, and in which COCCIA is ſpoken of as a woman *ſingularis exempli*, "of uncommon virtues;" the wife, the companion, and the friend of SPURINNA. The firſt epiſtle of this book ought to have ſucceeded the ſeventh of the ſecond book; where, we may remember, the character of COTTIUS is illuſtrated, and his death mentioned

to

to have happened during his father SPURINNA's abſence in *Germany*. Human nature knows no greater loſs than the death of a valuable child. Among the thunderbolts of heaven's wrath, this is the moſt to be dreaded, the hardeſt to be ſuſtained. A wretch in danger of drowning, whoſe ſingle twig of hope and ſupport breaks, and lets him ſink for ever, is happy, in compariſon of the parent, who loſes an only ſon. The verſes, which PLINY made on this occaſion, were undoubtedly very pathetic; but as time hath robbed us of the treaſure, let us turn our thoughts from ſo melancholy a theme.

EPISTLE XI.

PLINY *to* JULIUS GENITOR.

OUR friend ARTEMIDORUS has ſo much benignity of nature, that he always exaggerates the favours he receives. It is from that temper you have heard him ſpeak of the obligations, which, it is true, he lies under to me, in a manner far beyond any merit, to which I can pretend. When the philoſophers were all baniſhed from the city, I went to viſit him, at a houſe he had in the ſuburbs; and as I was then prætor, ſuch a viſit was more taken notice of, and conſequently more dangerous. He had occaſion for a large ſum of money to pay his debts, all which he had contracted much to his honour: ſome of his greateſt and richeſt friends only heſitated, but offered him no aſſiſtance. I borrowed the money, and made him a preſent of it; and I did this at a time, when ſeven of my friends were either put to death, or baniſhed. SENECIO, RUSTICUS, and HELVIDIUS, were the three who were put to death. MAURICUS, GRATILLA, ARRIA, and FANNIA were baniſhed. Scorched, in a manner, by ſo many thunderbolts burſting around me, I might have prognoſticated from ſuch certain omens, that the ſame fate was impending over me: but I cannot think, I have therefore

fore deſerved that large ſhare of glory, which ARTEMIDORUS beſtows upon me: it can only be ſaid, that I avoided the reproach of deſerting my friend. I loved and admired C. MUSONIUS, his father-in-law, as much as the difference of our years would permit; and my intimate familiarity with ARTEMIDORUS himſelf began when I was a military tribune in *Syria*. That was the firſt ſpecimen I gave of a right diſpoſition, in taſting and admiring a perſon, who was either a wiſe man in reality, or approached the neareſt to that character: for of all thoſe, who now call themſelves philoſophers, you will ſcarce find any one of them equal to him in ſincerity and integrity. I omit his patience in undergoing the extremities of heat and cold; his bearing up againſt all fatigue; his moderation in eating and drinking, without the leaſt indulgence to pleaſure; and the ſtrict bounds, within which he confines his appetites and deſires. In another man, theſe would appear great virtues; in him they are loſt in greater. For which reaſon, MUSONIUS choſe him for a ſon-in-law, preferable to all his rivals, of what quality ſoever. When I reflect upon his character, I own it is a pleaſure to me that he is ſo laviſh of my praiſe to all his acquaintance, and eſpecially to you. However, to end as I began, I am afraid, that, hurried away by his good-nature, he exceeds all bounds in his encomiums. For in this particular, he, who is otherwiſe a man of the moſt conſummate prudence, is frequently miſtaken. I confeſs it a glorious error, in entertaining a better opinion of his friends than they deſerve. Farewell.

OBSERVATIONS.

There are ſome paſſages in this epiſtle, which require an explanation.

Equidem quum eſſent philoſophi ab urbe ſummoti, fui apud illum in ſuburbano: "When the philoſophers were excluded

"the

" the city, I went to wait upon him in the ſuburbs." We might imagine from hence, that the philoſophers were only baniſhed the limits of the city; and that ARTEMIDORUS had taken a houſe in the ſuburbs, or in ſome place without the city walls: but GELLIUS tells us, that they were baniſhed not only out of *Rome*, but out of *Italy*. *Philoſophi etiam*, DOMITIANO *imperante*, *ſenatus conſulto ejecti*, *atque urbe et Italia interdicti ſunt. Quâ tempeſtate* EPICTETUS *quoque philoſophus*, *propter id ſenatus conſultum*, *Nicopolin Româ deceſſit* [a]: " The philoſophers too, in the reign of DO-" MITIAN, were expelled by a decree of the ſenate: and " their return, either to *Rome*, or *Italy*, was prohibited. " On the occaſion of that decree EPICTETUS, the philo-" ſopher, left *Rome*, and ſettled at *Nicopolis*." When the decree of the ſenate was publiſhed againſt the philoſophers, PLINY, though at that time *prætor*, went openly to viſit ARTEMIDORUS, whoſe houſe was ſituated in the ſuburbs of *Rome*; a ſituation more agreeable than the city, for the convenience of ſtudy and ſpeculation: and therefore I am apt to think, that VIRGIL, who had the utmoſt abhorrence of crouds, and an equal love of retirement, has by repreſenting the houſe of ANCHISES in *Troy*, given us a deſcription of his own houſe in *Rome*;

ſecreta parentis
ANCHISÆ *domus*, *arboribuſque obtecta receſſit* [b].

" My ſire ANCHISES' houſe ſecluded ſtood,
" Hid by the friendly umbrage of a wood."

But to return to PLINY.

Pecuniam etiam, *quâ tunc illi ampliore opus erat*, *ut æs alienum exſolveret*, *contractum ex pulcherrimis cauſis*, *muſſantibus magnis quibuſdam et locupletibus amicis*, *mutuatus ipſe*, *gratuitam dedi*: " I ſent him the money voluntarily, he wanting " a more than ordinary ſupply to pay his debts; all which " were contracted from the moſt generous principles; his " richeſt and greateſt friends offering him no aſſiſtance on " the occaſion." This was a noble piece of generoſity in PLINY, and was following the example of ARTEMIDORUS, borrowing money *ex pulcherrimis cauſis*.

[a] A. GELLIUS, lib. 15. cap. 11. [b] Æneid. ii. ℣. 299.

Non ideò tamen eximiam gloriam meruiſſe me, ut ille prædicat, credo; ſed tantùm effugiſſe flagitium: "I cannot aſſume, "or think I deſerve glory, as he aſſerts, from that circum-"ſtance. It would have been a reproach to have acted "otherwiſe." Can there be a more manifeſt example of humility? PLINY had done one of the greateſt and moſt glorious actions, that human nature is capable of; and yet he puts no higher conſtruction upon it, than that he had acted, as any man muſt act, who choſe not to be remarkable for having deſerted his friend. I wonder thoſe authors, who have endeavoured to prove PLINY a Chriſtian, did not collect their proofs from ſentences in his writings, agreeable to the precepts of Chriſtianity. This is one; and ſeems in abſolute ſubmiſſion to the commands of our Saviour, where he ſays, *when ye ſhall have done all thoſe things, which are commanded you, ſay, We are unprofitable ſervants: we have done that, which it was our duty to do* [c]. At leaſt, if it does not amount to a proof of PLINY's Chriſtianity, it certainly proves the excellence of the religion itſelf; ſince a man cannot proceed upon maxims of generoſity, humility, or any other virtue, without acting in conſiſtence and obedience to the laws of CHRIST.

Sunt hæc magna, ſed in alio; in hoc verò minima, ſi ceteris virtutibus comparentur: "Theſe, in another perſon, would "be great merits, but in him, taking and comparing all "his virtues together, they are amongſt the leaſt of his per-"fections." Here is room left to believe, that ARTEMIDORUS had every virtue under heaven: and indeed few authors, if any, have equalled PLINY in repreſenting their friends in ſo generous a manner, as not to touch upon thoſe human weakneſſes and failings, which, when mentioned, though ever ſo ſlightly, are apt to obſcure the moſt ſhining characters, and to ſully the bright ideas we might otherwiſe have of the perſons delineated. Irreparable injuries are committed by the dreadful monoſyllable, *But:* that ſingle word, placed maliciouſly, pulls down more, in one moment, than volumes can ever repair. The characters, tranſmitted to us by PLINY, are drawn with judgement, politeneſs, honeſty, and truth. They appear not with all the ſolemnity of hiſtory, becauſe they are interſperſed in familiar letters; but the dignity of the ſubject is not leſſened by the title of the work. And let it be obſerved, to the honour of

[c] LUKE xvii. ℣. 10.

our

our author, that, where he is obliged to deſcribe a bad man, he gives ſo many and ſuch glaring inſtances of his knavery, as prove the perſon delineated, beyond all contradiction, wicked and deteſtable: but where he paints a good man, like ARTEMIDORUS, he dwells upon his beauties, and takes pleaſure in enumerating his virtues: nor content to ſtop there, he frequently looks back into the characters of his friends and relations; and where he cannot prove him virtuous by parentage and deſcent, he endeavours to prove him ſo by alliance. So that his epiſtles may be juſtly eſteemed the letters of a noble Roman, who was an honour to his friends, and whoſe friends were an honour to the commonwealth.

EPISTLE XII.

PLINY *to* CATILIUS SEVERUS.

YES, I will ſup with you, but upon theſe conditions: let our ſupper be ſhort and frugal; let our diſcourſe, like the converſation of SOCRATES, abound with morality; but even in that let us ſhew moderation. You know, that before morning a great deal of buſineſs is to be done, which even CATO himſelf could not be excuſed for breaking in upon; CATO, whom CÆSAR blames in ſuch a manner, as redounds to his praiſe. For he tells us, that the perſons, who met him drunk, bluſhed at the diſcovery; "and from thence you would have thought, ſays CÆSAR, "that CATO had met them in liquor, not "that they had found him ſo." Could the character of CATO riſe higher, than to render him venerable, when thus diſguiſed? But, let our ſupper be as moderate in regard to the time of parting, as in the preparation and expence: for we are not arrived to ſo great a height in character, that our enemies cannot cenſure us, without ſaying ſomething, at the ſame time, in our praiſe. Farewell.

OBSERVATIONS.

There is no farther uſe in ſuch epiſtles as this, than to let us into the turn and manner of our author's life. The particular letter now before us diſplays an inſtance of his temperance and morality: for he orders the ſupper to be plain and frugal; and at the ſame time deſires, that their diſcourſe may turn upon moral ſubjects, ſuch as would become, or entertain SOCRATES. All moral men are wiſe men: for when the rules of decency or order are once infringed, no body can tell where the confuſion will end. Immorality and rudeneſs may accidentally promote laughter; but it is a burſt, which is only heard, and immediately forgotten; like mountain rivers, that ſometimes overflow their banks, and make a conſiderable noiſe and inundation for a few hours, but ſoon retract their triumph, and return to a ſmall trifling ſtream. On the other hand, regularity and politeneſs ſupply a perpetual ſpring of chearfulneſs and good humour, which flow on in one even tide, to the great beauty and improvement of every country, through which they paſs.

Erunt officia antelucana, in quæ incidere impunè ne CATONI *quidem licuit.* This ſentence is a little difficult: the meaning is this: "Let us part early, that we may riſe early. In "winter, our various avocations force us up before day. "There is a good deal of buſineſs always to be done be- "fore ſun-riſe. Therefore, let us not be ſeen returning "home, when our neighbours are going out; not reeling "ſottiſhly to our own beds, when other people have ſoberly "left theirs. CATO himſelf could not be juſtified in ſuch "a debauch: and we are not arrived to the character of "thoſe men, *whom their enemies cannot condemn, without* "*commending at the ſame time* [d]."

[d] See CLARENDON's Hiſtory; the character of OLIVER CROMWELL.

EPISTLE

EPISTLE XII.

PLINY *to* VOCONIUS ROMANUS.

ACCORDING to your commands I have ſent the book [e], in which I expreſſed, when lately conſul, the gratitude of the public to the beſt of princes. I ſhould have ſent it, though you had not commanded me. I intreat you to conſider at once the beauty and the difficulty of the theme. In other works, the novelty attracts the attention of the reader; but in this, where every thing, that can be ſaid, has been often ſaid before, the path is beaten, and the road is common; and for that reaſon, a reader, being quite at leiſure, and perfectly regardleſs of the ſubject matter, turns all his obſervations upon the ſtyle alone; which, when conſidered ſingly, is extremely difficult to be wrought up in ſuch a manner, as to give entire ſatisfaction. I could wiſh indeed, that the methodical diſpoſition, the tranſitions, and the figures, might be criticiſed together: for in men of little learning, we ſometimes diſcover both invention and eloquence; but none, except the learned, can diſtribute their materials properly, or place figures juſtly, in their various attitudes. Nor is the lofty and ſublime to be perpetually affected on theſe occaſions; for as nothing ſets off the light of a picture better than ſhade; ſo in an oration, it ſometimes is as neceſſary to bring it down to the common level, as to raiſe it above that level. But why all this to a man of letters? I ſhould rather deſire to know, what parts you think ought to be corrected; for if I find you ſo frank, as to make objections to particular paſſages, I ſhall take it for granted, that you are pleaſed with all the reſt. Farewell.

[e] PLINY's panegyric on TRAJAN.

OBSERVATIONS.

PLINY's panegyric upon TRAJAN, which he ſends with this epiſtle to his friend VOCONIUS ROMANUS, has been the ſtore-houſe, from whence courtly authors have uſually drawn the incenſe of their devotion. Whether the emperor TRAJAN deſerved thoſe high encomiums, which our author, in the abundant flow and ſtrength of eloquence, has beſtowed upon him, will admit perhaps of ſome doubt and ſuſpicion: but the panegyric is in itſelf as high finiſhed a picture of an amiable, generous, and brave prince, as has been ever expoſed to view: and happy are the people, whoſe ſovereign comes neareſt in reſemblance to ſo beautiful a portrait.

EPISTLE XIV.

PLINY *to* ACILIUS.

THE barbarous manner, in which LARGIUS MACEDO, a man of prætorian order, has been treated by his ſervants, deſerves a place rather in public hiſtory, than in a private letter. He was, indeed, a proud and ſavage maſter; and he little remembered, or rather utterly forgot, that his father had been a ſervant.

He was bathing at his houſe near *Formiæ*: on a ſudden his ſlaves ſurround him; one ſeizes his throat, another ſtrikes him in the mouth, another beats him on the breaſt and belly, others bruiſe him in thoſe parts, which modeſty forbids to mention. When they thought he was expired, they threw him upon a hot pavement, to try if he had any ſigns of life. He, whether really without any ſenſe of feeling, or whether he only pretended not to have any, remained ſtretched out at full length, and motionleſs: and by theſe means he was looked upon to be abſolutely dead. At laſt they carried

carried him out, as if ſuffocated by the heat of the bath: then his more faithful ſervants received him, and his miſtreſſes came ſhrieking and crying about him. Rouſed, in this manner, by their voices, and refreſhed by the coolneſs of the place, he opens his eyes, and moves his body, and confeſſes, for it was now ſafe to own, that he was alive. His ſlaves immediately run away: many of them are already taken; there is a ſtrict ſearch after the reſt. But MACEDO, after being kept alive by art ſome days, is ſince dead, not without the comfort of finding himſelf as amply revenged in his life-time, as he would have been after his death.

You ſee, to what dangers, to what affronts, to what inſults we are expoſed: nor will humanity or mildneſs be the leaſt protection to us; for it is villainy, not judgement, that guides the murderers. But enough of theſe comments. What other news is ſtirring? What? none; or I ſhould certainly ſubjoin it: there is paper enough left; and as this is a feſtival, I have leiſure to inſert as much more as I pleaſe. Let me add however, what juſt now occurs to me, of the ſame MACEDO, when he was in the public baths of *Rome*. The thing was notorious, and by the event proved ominous.

A Roman knight was gently tapped upon the ſhoulder by one of MACEDO's ſervants, that he might make way for his maſter: the knight turned himſelf about, and without ſtriking the ſervant, who had touched him, hit MACEDO ſuch a violent blow with his hand, that he almoſt knocked him down. Thus, the bath has been gradually fatal to him; firſt, it was the ſcene of his diſgrace, and afterwards, of his death. Farewell.

OBSERVATIONS.

Many ſentences in this epiſtle ſeem to require an explanation.

Rem atrocem nec tantùm epiſtolâ dignam : "I think, ſays PLINY, "ſo black a piece of villainy is of too great conſe-"quence, not to be publickly known. It ought not to be "confined to the narrow limits of a private letter; the "whole world ſhould be apprized of it."

LARGIUS MACEDO, *ſuperbus dominus et ſævus, qui ſerviſſe patrem ſuum parùm, immo minimum meminiſſet :* "LAR-"GIUS MACEDO was a proud and cruel maſter, who but "little recollected, or cared to remind himſelf, that his "father had been a ſervant." If the father of MACEDO had been a ſervant, it is no wonder MACEDO was a cruel maſter. Whenever a man riſes too ſuddenly, from ſervitude and dependance, into a ſtation of dignity and power, neither he, nor his neareſt ſucceſſors, can immediately quit that baſeneſs of mind, which accompanies a low birth and education. The filth ſtill remains, and clogs every action of their lives. They may be profuſe, but they cannot be generous: they may be rich, but they cannot be great. Original nature will break through all bounds, and will diſcover itſelf, in ſpite of all conſtraints. A cat, ſays the fable, was once changed into a woman; but as ſoon as a mouſe appeared, ſhe forgot her metamorphoſis, and ſhewed herſelf an arrant cat. What is baſer, what more inhuman, than to oppreſs ſervants and ſlaves, miſerable by their ſituation, and only to be made leſs ſo, by that proper indulgence, which is due to the meaneſt of our fellow-creatures, and which will be always allowed them by thoſe, who ſpring from the ſeeds of virtue, and who ſcorn to wear honours they have not deſerved? When we behold a barbarous maſter, and an ill-natured lord, it is no unjuſt preſumption, notwithſtanding his load of titles, to conclude, that by ſome accident or another he certainly ſprouts from the refuſe of the people, and the dregs of mankind.

Abjiciunt in fervens pavimentum : "They throw him "down upon the floor of the *calidarium*" which was heated from below by the *hypocauſtum*, and was anſwerable to the ſweating-room in our bagnios. This particular chamber

ber is taken notice of, among the other apartments of the *balnea*, in the eſſay on PLINY's life.

Ipſe paucis diebus ægrè focillatus, non ſine ultionis ſolatio, deceſſit; ita vivus vindicatus, ut occiſi ſolent: "He, having "been kept alive for ſome few days, died at laſt with the "ſatisfactory proſpect of being revenged; and lived long "enough to ſee the ſame methods of juſtice purſued, which "are executed upon murderers." Although PLINY does not explain himſelf in this place, by telling us, in what manner the cruelties exerciſed upon MACEDO were revenged; yet it is eaſily to be deduced, notwithſtanding ſome obſcurity in the ſentence, that, during the ſmall ſpace of time he ſurvived, thoſe ſlaves, who were taken, were puniſhed as they deſerved, and in the ſame manner, as if he had been actually dead. Perhaps the whole family of ſlaves were executed on this occaſion; for TACITUS [f] tells us, that by the old Roman laws, when a ſlave had killed his maſter, the intire tribe of domeſtic ſlaves were to ſuffer for the murder, as amply as if every individual had been guilty of it. The ſame hiſtorian [g], in a preceding book, ſays, *Factum et ſenatus conſultum ultioni juxta et ſecuritati, ut ſi quis a ſuis ſervis interfectus eſſet, ii quoque, qui teſtamento manumiſſi ſub eodem tecto manſiſſent, inter ſervos ſupplicia penderent:* "That by decree of the ſenate, when a maſter was killed "by his ſlaves, the freedmen, who were made free by his "laſt will, if they were in the ſame houſe, ſhould ſuffer "equally with the ſlaves." But this law was thought too rigorous to be put in execution.

Nec eſt, quòd quiſquam poſſit eſſe ſecurus, quia ſit remiſſus et mitis: "Nor will gentleneſs and indulgence ſecure our "lives." If this reflexion is true, as I am afraid it is, how corrupted and debaſed are our inclinations! and how low and deſpicable is human nature! not to be won by kindneſſes, not to be civilized by obligations! Brutes are tame and gentle to their feeders, faithful and ſubmiſſive to their maſters. Treachery to friends, and rebellion to benefactors, are to be found only among mankind.

[f] TACIT. Annal. lib. 14. cap. 42. The paſſage is extremely remarkable, and contains a particular account, too long to be inſerted here, of a popular inſurrection, which aroſe from putting the laws in execution, *anno urbis* 814.

[g] Annal. lib. 13. cap. 32. *anno urbis* 810.

Non

Non enim judicio domini, ſed ſcelere, perimuntur. This ſentence is a little obſcure. "Maſters are not murdered "from judgement, but from wickedneſs." All murders are committed from wickedneſs: what then is a murder from judgement? The meaning muſt be; ſlaves make no diſtinction between the beſt and the worſt maſters: the murders they are guilty of proceed more from the thirſt of blood, and the ſavageneſs of their tempers, than from a proper ſpirit of indignation, or the foundation of a juſt revenge.

EPISTLE XV.

PLINY *to* SILIUS PROCULUS.

YOU deſire me, at my leiſure, to read over your poems, and to examine, whether they are worthy of being publiſhed. You earneſtly beg this of me; you quote authorities for it; and you aſk me to ſubtract ſome ſpare time from my own ſtudies, to beſtow it upon yours. You farther add, that TULLY himſelf, from a moſt admirable ſweetneſs of nature, cheriſhed the riſing geniuſes in poetry. But as to me, I need neither to be aſked, nor to be entreated; becauſe I have a moſt devout veneration for poetry, and the higheſt regard for you. I will obey your requeſt, therefore, with as much aſſiduity as pleaſure. But I think, I may even now venture to write you word, that your work is excellent, and ought by no means to be ſuppreſſed; as far as I am able to judge from thoſe pieces, which you have rehearſed in my preſence, unleſs your manner of repeating them impoſed upon me; for, indeed, your manner is ſweet and maſterly. But, I truſt, I am not ſo led away by the ſenſe of hearing, that my judgement is weakened by the harmony that affects my ears. The edge of it may perhaps be a little turned and blunted by that means; but cannot be abſolutely ſubverted or aboliſhed. When I praiſe the poem in general, therefore, I do not ſpeak raſhly; but to judge of the ſeveral

parts, I muſt read them all carefully over. Farewell.

OBSERVATIONS.

TULLY's attempts in poetry are for ever recorded by that memorable verſe,

O fortunatum, natam me conſule, Romam [h] *!*

which Mr. DRYDEN has humorouſly tranſlated,

" *Fortune foretun'd* the dying notes of *Rome*,
" 'Till I, thy *conſul ſole*, *conſol'd* thy doom [i]."

But although that great orator was no poet himſelf, he cheriſhed and admired the profeſſors of that art. *Mirâ benignitate poetarum ingenia fovebat:* a part of his character by no means the leaſt worthy of praiſe. PLINY ſeems deſirous to imitate TULLY by a moſt generous encouragement of PROCULUS; whoſe poems, I believe, are no where known or ſpoken of, except in this epiſtle.

[h] JUVENAL, Sat. 10. ℣. 122.
[i] DRYDEN, Sat. 10. ℣. 190.

EPISTLE XVI.

PLINY *to* NEPOS.

I Have conſtantly obſerved, that among the actions and ſayings of illuſtrious perſons of both ſexes, ſome particulars have made more noiſe, when others have been really greater, although leſs known. This my opinion was confirmed to me by what FANNIA related yeſterday. She is grandaughter to that ARRIA, who was at once the comfort and example to her huſband in his death. She told me many anecdotes of her grandmother, leſs public, but not leſs noble, than the circumſtance of her death. I believe,

you

you will be as much amazed to read, as I was to hear the accounts.

Her huſband, CÆCINNA PÆTUS, was ſick; her ſon was ſick at the ſame time; and both, as was then thought, paſt all hopes of recovery. Her ſon died. He was a youth endued with the various beauties of mind and body; and with a modeſty equal to them all. He was dear to his parents, not only as their ſon, but alſo for his excellent qualities. She prepared, and conducted his funeral in ſuch a manner, that her huſband remained entirely ignorant of what had happened: for whenever ſhe entered his bed-chamber, ſhe pretended her ſon was alive and better; and when he often enquired, how the boy did? ſhe anſwered he had ſlept well, and had eaten his food with a good appetite. But as ſoon as her tears, too long pent in, had abſolutely conquered her, and were burſting forth, ſhe retired, and then gave herſelf up to grief. Again, when ſhe had compoſed herſelf, ſhe returned with dry eyes, and a chearful countenance, as if ſhe had quitted all her grief for the loſs of her ſon, at the door of her huſband's chamber.

I muſt confeſs, it was a brave action in her to draw the ſteel, to plunge it into her boſom, to pull the dagger out again, to preſent it to her huſband, and then to uſe that immortal, and almoſt divine expreſſion, PÆTUS, *it gives no pain.* But when ſhe did, and when ſhe ſaid this, ſhe had fame and immortality before her eyes. It ſeems, therefore, a greater action in her, without the reward of eternal applauſe, or the proſpect of glory, to hide her tears, to conceal her ſorrow, and to act the mother when ſhe had loſt her ſon.

SCRIBONIANUS had taken up arms againſt CLAUDIUS in *Illyricum*: PÆTUS had engaged himſelf on the ſame ſide, and SCRIBONIANUS being killed, PÆTUS was brought priſoner to *Rome*. He was going into

into the ſhip, when ARRIA earneſtly entreated the ſoldiers, that ſhe might be put on board with him. "You will allow, ſays ſhe, a man, who has been "conſul, to have ſome ſervants to dreſs him, to at-"tend at his meals, to put on his ſhoes. Let me "go, and I alone will perform all thoſe offices." Her requeſt was denied: but ſhe hired a fiſhing-boat, and in that ſmall veſſel followed the ſhip.

The ſame ARRIA, meeting the wife of SCRIBONIANUS in the palace of CLAUDIUS, at the time ſhe voluntarily diſcloſed all ſhe knew of the conſpirators, ſaid to her, "Offer not to ſpeak a word to me: I "ſhall not hear you. Your huſband SCRIBONIANUS "was killed in your boſom, and yet you live." From whence it plainly appears, that the heroical manner, in which ſhe choſe to die, did not proceed from a ſudden thought.

When her ſon-in-law THRASEA [k] was endeavouring by his prayers to divert her from the deſign ſhe had formed to put herſelf to death; and, among other arguments, ſaid, "If I were condemned to "die, would you therefore have your daughter die "with me? ſhe made anſwer, "Certainly, if ſhe "had lived as long, and as happily with you, as I "have lived with PÆTUS [l]."

By this anſwer, ſhe alarmed her friends, and was more cloſely watched. She perceived it, and ſaid, "Your endeavours are vain: you may force me to "die with anguiſh, but you cannot hinder me from "death itſelf." While ſhe uttered theſe words, ſhe leapt out of her chair, and daſhed her head with ſuch prodigious violence againſt the oppoſite wall, that ſhe fell down in a manner dead. When ſhe was brought to herſelf again, ſhe ſaid, "I told you, by "denying me the liberty of an eaſy death, you "would only compel me to find out one more pain-

[k] THRASEA PÆTUS. [l] CÆCINNA PÆTUS.

" ſul." Are not theſe greater ſayings even than, PÆTUS, *it gives no pain?* Yet theſe, which were preparatory to the other, ſo much celebrated in the world, are entirely unknown. All this confirms the obſervation, with which I firſt ſet out, that ſome particular actions and ſayings are more renowned, whilſt others are more noble. Farewell.

OBSERVATIONS.

The cataſtrophe of ARRIA and PÆTUS is related in one of the *Tatlers* [m], of which papers Sir RICHARD STEEL was, in general, the reputed author: but he is miſtaken in the ſtory. CÆCINNA PÆTUS was put to death by the emperor CLAUDIUS; whereas the author of that paper cites a letter for his execution from the emperor NERO, who was much leſs guilty of his murder than Sir RICHARD STEEL.

FURIUS CAMILLUS SCRIBONIANUS, governor of *Dalmatia* [n], joined with CÆCINNA PÆTUS in raiſing a rebellion againſt CLAUDIUS; but they had ſcarce appeared in arms, when their ſoldiers, terrified by evil omens, or more probably afraid of the emperor's power, not only deſerted, but betrayed their commanders. SCRIBONIANUS was obliged to take refuge in the iſland of *Iſſa* [o]; where he was ſeized and put to death, *in gremio ſuæ uxoris* [p]: " in the " boſom of his wife," as appears by this epiſtle, whilſt PÆTUS was carried priſoner to *Rome*. He there received his condemnation, and with it the permiſſion of chuſing what ſort of death he thought moſt eligible. But CÆCINNA, however bold in the field, and at the head of thouſands, could not look at the more calm approaches of death with the reſolution of a Roman: his conſtancy forſook him, and he ſhewed great reluctance to leave the world. ARRIA, ſorry and aſhamed to ſee him betray a weakneſs, to which her ſoul was a ſtranger; and perhaps, ſecretly conſcious, that ſhe was the cauſe why he wiſhed to live, ſnatched a dagger from his ſide, and ſtabbed herſelf before his eyes,

[m] N° 72. Saturday, September 24, 1709.
[n] A province in *Illyricum*, bordering upon the *Adriatic*.
[o] An iſland in the *Adriatic*, over-againſt *Dalmatia*.
[p] JUNIA.

with

with an intrepid heroiſm, that at once demonſtrated her courage and her love. Thus fell ARRIA [q], the firſt of that name, whom hiſtory takes notice of; and ſhe no ſooner expired, than PÆTUS, fired by her example, and encouraged by her laſt words, haſtened to put an end to his life in the ſame manner, and by the ſame weapon.

CÆCINNA PÆTUS and ARRIA left behind them a daughter, who bore her mother's name, and was married to THRASEA PÆTUS. From this identity of names have ariſen the various chronological miſtakes, into which not only the *Tatler*, but other writers have fallen.

THRASEA PÆTUS made a conſiderable figure in the reign of NERO. He was a man of ſtrict morals, and unſhaken reſolution; beloved by the people, and of great weight in the ſenate; an able and an unbiaſſed patriot, and ſo powerful in eloquence, that he often ſtopped the current of iniquity, which would otherwiſe have overturned and deſtroyed the ſtate. Such a man was particularly odious to the emperor and the court minions: every action of his life was not only a reproach to their vices, but, what was of more conſequence, a bar to their tyranny. It had been impolitic not to ſtop the progreſs of ſuch conſpicuous merit, and ſuch ſpreading virtue. THRASEA, therefore, was accuſed before the ſenate of various crimes, amounting to high treaſon; and, together with SORANUS, and his daughter SERVILIA, whoſe ſtory is extremely melancholy and affecting, was condemned to die; the manner of their death being left to their own election. THRASEA was in his garden, accompanied by many friends of conſiderable rank and character, particularly DEMETRIUS the philoſopher, when the queſtor DOMITIUS CÆCILIANUS came to him from the ſenate, with the order of his condemnation. The whole company, except himſelf, burſt into tears; and his wife ARRIA immediately reſolved to follow her mother's example, and die with her huſband: but THRASEA interpoſed, and inſiſted ſhe ſhould live for the ſake of their daughter FANNIA [r], at that time married to HELVIDIUS PRISCUS, a noble Roman, equally hating, and hated by NERO. The ſixteenth annal of TACITUS, from whence theſe memoirs

[q] She was nearly related to the empreſs MESSALINA. Vid. DION. CASSIUS, Lib. 60.

[r] The character of FANNIA is given by PLINY in the 7th Book, Epiſt. 19.

of

of THRASEA PÆTUS are derived, is imperfect; but the laſt chapter is too remarkable, not to be inſerted, eſpecially, as it gives ſome account of the manner in which PÆTUS choſe to die. The words of the hiſtorian are theſe:

Tum progreſſus [THRASEA PÆTUS] *in porticum, illic a quæſtore reperitur, lætitiæ propior, quia* HELVIDIUM *generum ſuum Italiâ tantum arceri cognoverat. Accepto dehinc ſenatus conſulto,* HELVIDIUM *et* DEMETRIUM *in cubiculum inducit; porrectiſque utriuſque brachii venis, poſtquam cruorem effudit, humum ſuper ſpargens, propiùs vocato quæſtore, Libemus, inquit,* JOVI LIBERATORI. *Specta juvenis, et omen quidem dii prohibeant: ceterùm in ea tempora natus es, quibus firmare animum expediat conſtantibus exemplis. Poſt lentitudine exitûs graves cruciatus afferente, obverſis in* DEMETRIUM * * * * * * *.

"Then [THRASEA PÆTUS] going into his gallery, was "met there by the queſtor, whom he received rather with "joy, than dejection, becauſe he had been informed, that "his ſon-in-law HELVIDIUS was only doomed to baniſh-"ment out of *Italy:* and now ſubmitting to his ſentence, "he took HELVIDIUS and DEMETRIUS into his bed-cham-"ber, and ſtretching out both his arms, after the veins in "each had been cut, he ſprinkled ſome of his blood upon "the ground; and calling the queſtor to come nearer, "he ſaid, This is my libation to JUPITER the deliverer. "Young man, behold this! and may the Gods avert the "omen from you! But you are born in times, that render "it neceſſary to fortify the mind by examples of reſolu-"tion. After this, the ſlow manner of his death bringing "on grievous tortures, he turned [his eyes] towards DE-"METRIUS * * * * * * *." Here the annal breaks off, and leaves us to hope, that PÆTUS was ſoon relieved; and that ſo noble a ſoul remained not long in pain.

As theſe ſtories of the two ARRIAS, and their huſbands, have been ſpun out into a great length, the only farther remark to be made upon this epiſtle is, that ſcarce any of all the heroic actions of the firſt ARRIA inſpire us with a more exalted idea of her, than when ſhe chuſes to expoſe herſelf to the wind and waves in a ſmall fiſhing-boat, even from *Dalmatia* to *Rome*, rather than to ſtay in ſafety, when her lord was in danger: an example of female courage, reſolution, and affection, rarely, if ever, to be equalled.

EPISTLE

EPISTLE XVII.

PLINY *to* SERVIANUS.

IT is ſo long ſince I heard from you, that I muſt aſk, if all things are right? If they are, is buſineſs your obſtruction? Or, if you are not employed, are the opportunities of writing few or none? Deliver me from this ſtate of doubt: it is a ſituation I cannot bear. Relieve me, though you ſend your letters by a particular meſſenger. I will pay his travelling expences: nay, I will give him more; let him but tell me what I wiſh to hear. I am well, if a man can be ſaid to be well, who lives in perpetual ſuſpenſe and anxiety, expecting and fearing, every hour, all that can poſſibly happen to his deareſt friend upon earth. Farewell.

OBSERVATIONS.

Theſe ſhort letters, which contain only compliments and civilities, that paſſed between particular friends, many hundred years ago, muſt appear trifling and unengaging, when they ſucceed ſuch a letter as the ſixteenth. And indeed, when we look into theſe kind of epiſtles ſeparately, there is nothing in their ſtyle and ſubject very remarkable, or extraordinary: but, when we conſider them all together, they tend to ſtrengthen and eſtabliſh the character of politeneſs, which our author ſo juſtly deſerves. They are thrown in by the editors, without any regard to the letters, immediately preceding, or immediately following; and, like ſmall diamonds ill ſet, they not only loſe their own little ſhare of luſtre, but ſhew the aukwardneſs of thoſe jewellers, into whoſe hands they have fallen.

EPISTLE XVIII.

PLINY *to* CATILIUS SEVERUS.

IT was incumbent upon me, when conſul, to return the thanks, and to make the compliments of the republic to our emperor. After I had done this, with a due regard to the time and manner of ſpeaking in the ſenate, I imagined it agreeable to the duty of a good citizen, to expatiate more copiouſly on every head, and to ſend the whole abroad, in a volume: firſt, that the emperor, by this tribute of applauſe, might be better pleaſed with the juſt picture of his great virtues: next, that ſucceeding princes may be animated by his example, rather than by any precepts of mine, to purſue the only road to the ſame true glory. For, certainly, to inſtruct a prince, what he ought to be, is a very noble, but a very arduous taſk, and carries with it an air of vanity: but to praiſe the beſt of princes, and, by that method, to hold out a light, as from a watch-tower, by which his ſucceſſors may ſteer their courſe, is not a work of arrogance, but of infinite uſe. It is no ſmall pleaſure to me, that when I had a mind to recite this entire performance to my friends, and did not ſend them any written or particular invitations, but only a general notice to come to me, when it was convenient for them, and they were moſt at leiſure. As ſoon as they were advertiſed of my inclinations, and I muſt obſerve, that at *Rome* there is never, or, at leaſt, very ſeldom, leiſure, or convenient time to hear rehearſals, they aſſembled two days together, for that purpoſe, in extreme bad weather: and, when my own modeſty would have put a ſtop to the rehearſal, they abſolutely required me to continue it a third

third day. Am I to attribute this honour to myſelf, or to their regard for learning? I rather think to the latter; which, after it has been almoſt deſtroyed, is now reviving. But what was the ſubject, which occaſioned this earneſt attention of my audience? for, in the ſenate, where it was abſolutely neceſſary to undergo the fatigue of hearing ſuch encomiums, we uſed to grow tired in a moment's time; and yet now, three days were not found too long to rehearſe and hear a panegyric of the ſame kind. It is not, that there is more eloquence in this work, but that it is written with a willing heart, and conſequently, with a greater ſpirit of freedom. It will be a freſh accumulation of praiſe, therefore, to our emperor, that thoſe ſpeeches, which were heretofore as odious, as they were falſe, are now become as amiable, as they are true. But I confeſs, I was not more delighted with the attention, than the judgement of my audience; for I could obſerve, that my moſt ſevere remarks gave them the greateſt ſatisfaction. I am conſcious indeed, that I have rehearſed to a few, what I have written for all: nevertheleſs, as if future readers would concur in their judgement and taſte, I cannot but own I rejoice greatly, that their ears can bear ſuch open and ſpirited writing. And, as in former times, the theatres were taught a falſe taſte in muſic; ſo now I hope to ſee, that the ſame places will be taught to reliſh nothing but true harmony. Thoſe, indeed, who write with no other view than to pleaſe, will write in ſuch a manner, as they imagine may pleaſe: but with reſpect to my particular performance, I am confident, the true reaſons of my taking greater freedom and latitude will be plainly diſcovered; ſince thoſe parts of my diſcourſe, which bear cloſe and hard, muſt appear more foreign and forced, than thoſe, which are penned in the gaiety and exultation of heart. And yet it is my ardent prayer, that the time may come, I wiſh it were arrived, when all

ſoothing panegyric, however now juſt and proper, ſhall give place to honeſt and ſevere truths.

Here you have a full account of my three days work. I wiſh, in your abſence, you may feel the ſame pleaſure, from the encouragement given to ſtudy and learning in general, and the compliments paid me, on this particular occaſion, which you would certainly have felt, had you been upon the ſpot. Adieu.

OBSERVATIONS.

This epiſtle ought to have been immediately ſubſequent to the thirteenth, as they both relate to the ſame ſubject, the panegyric upon TRAJAN. In the thirteenth epiſtle, addreſſed to ROMANUS, our author diſcovers great fears and anxiety for his favourite work: he dwells upon the difficulty of the theme, and courts the approbation of his readers. But the ſtyle of this epiſtle to SEVERUS is more laboured and diffuſed; and the author here ſpeaks of his panegyric with a confidence and ſatisfaction, ariſing from the applauſe which he had already received.

As ſome paſſages in this epiſtle are a little obſcure, the following obſervations may not be deemed unneceſſary.

Deinde, ut futuri principes, non quaſi à magiſtro, ſed tamen ſub exemplo præmonerentur, quâ petiſſimùm viâ poſſent ad eandem gloriam niti: "I had a mind to point out to future "princes, rather by his example, than by any precept, the "paths of true glory." PLINY imagines, vanity might hinder future princes from learning the maxims of government, but ambition might, probably, lead them to imitate TRAJAN: they would abhor a preceptor, but they would accept of a guide.

Animadverti enim ſeveriſſima quæque vel maximè ſatisfacere: "I obſerved a general ſatisfaction, even in thoſe places "where I was moſt ſevere." The ſeverity, which PLINY hints at in this ſentence, is that part of the panegyric, which aims at the cruelties and impoſitions of preceding Cæſars. But the arrows, which were directed at the Roman emperors, muſt, at the ſame time, hit the Roman people: the

the former could not have been abſolute tyrants, unleſs the latter had ſubmitted themſelves to be abſolute ſlaves.

Ac ſicut olim theatra malè muſicos canere docuerunt, ita nunc in ſpem adducor, poſſe fieri, ut eadem theatra benè canere muſicos doceant: "And as the theatre formerly taught the ſingers a "bad manner in ſinging, ſo now I am led to hope, that "the ſame theatres may teach them a better grace and man-"ner." This is a fine ſatirical alluſion to NERO, who had not only corrupted the morals, but the ears of the *Romans*. He had ſubſtituted diſcord in the room of harmony. He had baniſhed the graces, and introduced the furies. Arts and ſciences were depreſſed and overthrown: nor did learning, or virtue, recover the blows they had received, till the beginning of TRAJAN's government. It is not to be denied, that PLINY has introduced this ſentence abruptly, and without connexion: but it may be conſidered, that as the epiſtle was written to a friend, who well knew the meaning of the compariſon, there was not that occaſion for contexture and exactneſs, as in a more elaborate kind of writing. In familiar letters, half ſentences and hints are ſufficient; but in hiſtory, or any work of gravity and importance, ſuch a ſtyle would not only be improper, but totally inexcuſable.

EPISTLE XIX.

PLINY *to* CALVISIUS.

AS I have been accuſtomed, ſo I ſhall ſtill continue to beg your advice with regard to my eſtate. Some lands, adjoining to mine, and, indeed, intermixed with them, are to be ſold. They are attended with many circumſtances, which tempt me, and many, which deter me from the purchaſe.

I am chiefly induced by the beauty, that will reſult from their being laid out together; and then again, the convenience will be no leſs than the pleaſure: the ſame works may be carried on at both places, for both may be viſited with the ſame trouble, and the ſame expence: the ſame overſeer may take care of both, and the undermanagers of each may almoſt be

the ſame perſons. We need only fit up one houſe for an habitation, and barely keep the other from falling to ruin. The expence, ſaved in furniture, in head-ſervants, in gardeners, workmen, ſuch as ſmiths, farriers, and even in the hunting equipage, muſt be entered into the computation; for it is of great conſequence in œconomy, whether you have theſe collected together in one place, or diſperſed in ſeveral.

On the other hand, I am afraid it will be imprudent to truſt ſo large an eſtate, lying all together, to the ſame climate, and to the ſame accidents. It ſeems more adviſeable to provide againſt caſualties, and all ſudden alterations of the weather, by having our lands parcelled out in different ſituations. The change too of air and place, and the variety in rambling about, has ſomething in it very agreeable.

Now the principal point of my deliberation is this; the ſoil is fertile, rich and well-watered: it conſiſts of fields, vineyards, and woods, yielding a produce, which, though it will amount to a very moderate, yet will be a very certain income. But then the ſoil, as fertile as it is, has been much impoveriſhed by the indigence of the huſbandmen. The laſt poſſeſſor very often ſold the whole ſtock; and though by that method he furniſhed himſelf with a ſum of money for the preſent, yet he hurt the eſtate, by depriving his huſbandmen of proper means to cultivate the lands, which are now over-run with brambles and briars. We muſt therefore provide a ſet of honeſt labourers; for I have none among my ſlaves, who are fit for this purpoſe, nor are there any left upon the land. It remains, that you ſhould know at what rate there ſeems a poſſibility of making the purchaſe. Three millions of ſeſterces [s] are the price: not but it was formerly ſet up at five millions [t], but by the extreme poverty of

[s] Three millions of ſeſterces amount, in Engliſh money, to 24218 *l.* 15 *s.*

[t] Five millions of ſeſterces amount to 40364 *l.* 11 *s.* 8 *d.*

the

the husbandmen, and the general calamity of the times, as the income, so the purchase of the land, is diminished.

You will ask, if I can easily get together three millions of sesterces? My substance, indeed, is almost all in land: however, I have some money out at interest, nor shall I find it difficult to borrow. I can take it up from my mother-in-law, whose coffers I may use as freely as my own. Therefore, let not this embarrass you, if there are no other objections in the way; which, I must beg, you will well consider; for, as in all other affairs, so especially in the disposal of money, your experience and your judgement are unexceptionable. Farewell.

OBSERVATIONS.

At the same time that the computation of unavoidable expences, in PLINY's intended purchase, may demonstrate the justice and wisdom of his œconomy, we have the advantage of finding, by this epistle, such furniture, and servants, as the *Romans* thought absolutely necessary in their country-houses.

The *Procurator* [or Overseer] had the same kind of office as our land-steward; the person, who had the inspection of the other servants, belonging to the husbandry, and, who was to manage, and account for, the produce of the estate.

The *Actores* [Under-Managers] although generally translated Bailiffs, seem to have been inferior to the persons, who, with us, go under that denomination. They were slaves, employed in all the servile offices belonging to the estate. They were under the command of the *procurator*; and they cultivated the lands, as the word it self seems to imply, by their own labour, and obedience. The scholiasts have been very explicit in their annotations upon this epistle. They refer us to the seventh and eighth chapters of the first book of COLUMELLA, in which there are some curious observations, that are not unworthy of inspection.

Sumptus Atrienſium. The *Atrienſis* was a servant of most especial trust, *qui domini negotia procurabat, res venales distrahebat, debita exigebat, et in alios ſervos non parum juris*

uſurpabat [v] *:* "Who managed the affairs of his maſter, diſ-
"poſed of all ſaleable goods, gathered in his debts, and aſ-
"ſumed great authority over the reſt of the ſervants." He was ſuch a ſervant as our houſe-ſteward. The ſame author gives the reaſon, why he was called *atrienſis : dictus quòd atrio, hoc eſt primæ domûs parti, ubi apud antiquos divitiæ adſervabantur, cuſtos adhibebatur :* "He took his name from the "*atrium*, becauſe the cuſtody of the firſt part of the houſe "was his province." From hence it appears, that the antients kept their money in their halls, unleſs *divitiæ* might ſignify the moſt valuable part of the perſonal eſtate, the images of their anceſtors; which were uſually ſet in porches, at the entrance of their houſes.

The *Topiarius* [the Gardiner] is a name derived from the art of forming various figures and images in trees and hedges. This was an art, which the antients thought abſolutely neceſſary in a gardiner: for PLINY tells us, that in the garden belonging to his chief ſeat in *Tuſcany* [w], his own name, and his gardiner's name, were cut in box; and that his whole garden was filled with variety of figures, images, and arbours, formed out of the trees, which grew in it. This faſhion has been very much practiſed in *England* [x], till of late years, when a more agreeable, and more extended taſte has prevailed.

The *Venatoria Inſtrumenta* were the nets, ſpears, and other utenſils belonging to the hunting equipage; a piece of parade neceſſary for perſons of our author's rank to aſſume, and maintain. PLINY would otherwiſe ſcarce have reckoned it among his rural expences; ſince, as has been already obſerved, he was a ſportſman, rather by compliance, than by inclination.

[v] ULPIAN. [w] Book v. Ep. 6.

[x] The motto of the *Garter*, and other devices, cut in box, are ſtill to be ſeen at *Oxford*, in *New-college* garden; and a nobleman, at his ſeat near *London*, had, ſome years ago, the Coronation dinner, in yew, of K. WILLIAM and Q. MARY.

EPISTLE

EPISTLE XX.

PLINY *to* MAXIMUS.

DO you remember, that you have often read of the many contentions, which aroſe from the law of voting by tablets? and how much glory, or reproach, it brought upon the law-giver himſelf? But, now it has met with the unanimous approbation of the ſenate, as the beſt of laws. All demanded tablets on the day of the election [y]. We had, indeed, exceeded thoſe bounds, that ought to be preſerved in an aſſembly, by giving our votes in this open manner; ſo that there was no time allowed for ſpeaking, nor was the modeſty of ſilence, or even the diſtinction of ſeats, regarded. Great and confuſed clamours were poured forth from every ſide. All were running here and there, with the candidates whom they favoured. Numerous crouds appeared in the middle of the ſenate-houſe, ſeveral different circles were formed, and there was one, univerſal confuſion: to ſuch a degree had we forſaken the cuſtoms of our anceſtors, among whom order, decency, and tranquillity, preſerved the majeſty and reverence of the place. There are ſtill ſome old men alive, from whom I have often heard, that the antient method of holding the election [z] was in this manner: the candidate being called by his name, a profound ſilence enſued: he then ſpoke for himſelf, he gave an account of his life, and he produced witneſſes of his behaviour, and perſons, who could give him commendations; either the officer, under whom he had ſerved in the army, or the civil magiſtrate, to whom he was queſtor, or both, if he could. Beſides theſe, he appealed to ſome of the voters, and they always ſpoke with weight, and in

[y] *Comitiorum die.* [z] *Comitia.*

few

few words. This method was much more prevalent than a canvas. Sometimes the candidate objected to the family, the age, or even the manners of his competitor. The ſenate heard all, with a becoming gravity; ſo that merit much oftner prevailed than favour. But, theſe laudable cuſtoms having been corrupted by the overbearing intereſt of particular perſons, it was thought proper to eſtabliſh this method of voting by tablets, as the beſt remedy: and, indeed, for ſome time it had all the good, that could be deſired from it, becauſe it was a new thing. But I fear abuſes may ariſe hereafter, out of the remedy itſelf; becauſe there is danger, that this tacit manner of voting may be an umbrage for the moſt ſhameleſs partiality; for who is ſo careful of acting honeſtly in ſecret, as in public? Many have regard to their character, few to their conſcience. But, it is too ſoon to form conjectures of future events. In the mean time, by the benefit of the tablets, we ſhall have ſuch magiſtrates, as moſt deſerve to be elected. For, it has happened in theſe elections, as in *recuperatory judgements*, that by our ſudden allotments we had not time afforded us to be corrupted.

I have tranſmitted theſe paſſages to you, firſt, to entertain you with ſomething new; next, that I may ſometimes ſpeak of the commonwealth: for as we have fewer opportunities of treating upon that ſubject, than the antients had, ſo we ought the leſs to neglect any that offer. And beſides, muſt we never leave off thoſe old forms, *How do you ſpend your time? Are you well?* But let us give our letters a turn, that is neither low, nor vulgar, nor altogether confined to private affairs.

The whole empire is, at preſent, under the direction of a ſingle perſon [a], who, for the common good, has taken upon himſelf the cares and labours of all his ſubjects; but yet, that a juſt temperament may be

[a] The emperor TRAJAN.

obſerved,

obſerved, a part of his power is continually derived to us through channels, which take their riſe from a moſt beneficent ſpring, which we are not only at liberty to uſe ourſelves, but impart, by letters, to our abſent friends. Adieu.

OBSERVATIONS.

The ſubject of this epiſtle is very curious. It treats of the Tabellarian law, and the good and ill conſequences, that might proceed from a revival of that law.

The *lex tabellaria* [b] was firſt enacted by AULUS GABINIUS, tribune of the people, in the ſix hundred and fourteenth year of the city. It was intended to procure to the people a freedom in voting: for when they gave their votes in the *Comitia* openly, before the face of the governing magiſtrates, they were often awed, and carried away, againſt their conſciences, by the fear of offending thoſe great men. This law prevented ſo unjuſt and ſo fatal an influence. However, it had been long laid aſide and diſregarded, but was now revived, in the reign of TRAJAN, for the reaſons which PLINY aſſigns.

The manner of voting by the tablets was thus: each voter had as many tablets delivered to him as there were candidates, one of whoſe names was written upon each tablet. The perſon, who voted, threw into a box, prepared for that purpoſe, the name of the candidate, whoſe intereſt he eſpouſed. Public officers were appointed to take out the tablets of every century, and for each name they made a point upon another tablet. Hence the phraſe, *Omne tulit punctum*: "All the points decided the election in his favour."

The antient manner of proceeding in the choice of magiſtrates was extremely wiſe and equitable. Our author ſays, there were old men ſtill alive, who remembered it to have been the conſtant cuſtom, that the candidate was to give a juſt and modeſt account of his life and actions: he was to produce witneſſes, his ſuperiors, under whom he had ſerved, to prove the truth of his aſſertions: he was to appeal

[b] It is ſometimes called *lex Gabinia*, from the original author of it; and ſometimes *lex Caſſia*, from *Caſſius*, tribune of the people, who, in the year ſix hundred and ſixteen, made farther additions and amendments to this law.

to

to ſuch of the voters who knew him, to give evidence in ſupport of his character; and he was to appear, in every light, qualified for the employment at which he aſpired. *Ita ſæpiùs digni quàm gratioſi prævalebant:* "Therefore "merit rather than favour oftenest prevailed." Had the *Romans* kept up this cuſtom, in all its original purity and ſtrictneſs, corruption could ſcarce ever have prevailed in the ſtate.

Interim plane remedium fuit: erat enim novum et ſubitum: "It was certainly a remedy for ſome time, for it was new "and ſudden." I apprehend the meaning of this to be, that new laws, in favour of the people, are generally obſerved and obeyed at firſt; and the *lex tabellaria*, which was in a manner a new law, had been ſo ſuddenly propoſed, and ſo immediately put into execution, that there was no time for oppoſition. It took place, like lightning, with ſuch a rapidity, that the corruptors and ſeducers of the people, againſt whom it was chiefly levelled, were wounded before they heard the thunder. They were ſurpriſed unawares, and had no opportunity to ſummon their troops, and give out the word againſt ſo excellent and ſo equitable a ſtatute.

But PLINY, too well acquainted with the general corruption, that was prevalent at *Rome*, is not without his fears of bad conſequences, even from this revived law. *Sed vereor, ne procedente tempore, ex ipſo remedio vitia naſcantur: eſt enim periculum, ne tacitis ſuffragiis impudentia irrepat:* "But I "fear, that, in proceſs of time, the ſame, or other vices, "may ſpring from this remedy: for there is danger, that a "very bold partiality may be the production of theſe ſilent "votes. Men, whom public ſhame might have kept with"in the bounds of virtue, will undauntedly go beyond thoſe "bounds, when they are in no danger of being diſcovered: "and therefore it is probable, there may as great evils "hereafter ariſe from the inſolent proceedings of perſons un"known, as formerly have ariſen from the fears, depend"ance, and expectations of the people."

Nam ut in recuperatoriis judiciis, ſic nos in his comitiis quaſi repentè apprehenſi, ſinceri judices fuimus: "For as in "recuperatory judgements, ſo in theſe elections, as if call"ed upon unawares to the execution of our office, we "were ſincere and upright judges." The *Recuperatores* were judges, delegated by the prætor to take cognizance of ſome

ſome particular fact, or to decide the controverſies about receiving and recovering goods, which had been loſt, or taken away. They were judges only by chance, and on particular occaſions; and being choſen and appointed all on a ſudden, they were leaſt liable to partiality: the parties had not time to ſeduce, or influence the court; and, in this ſenſe, the *Recuperatores* are compared by PLINY to the perſons, who lately gave their votes for magiſtrates ſuddenly, impartially, and according to the *lex tabellaria*.

EPISTLE XXI.

PLINY *to* NERATIUS PRISCUS.

I Hear VALERIUS MARTIAL is dead, which gives me much affliction. He was an acute, ſprightly, ingenious man, and had no leſs candour than ſalt and poignancy in his writings. When he took his final leave of me, I made him a ſmall preſent, to bear the charges of his journey. It was a preſent to acknowledge my friendſhip; it was a preſent for the little poetical panegyric he had beſtowed upon me. Our anceſtors never failed to beſtow peculiar honours, or rewards of money, upon thoſe authors, who celebrated particular perſons, or cities. But in theſe our days, as other noble and excellent cuſtoms have been laid aſide, ſo this, more eſpecially, has been aboliſhed: for, ever ſince we have ceaſed to deſerve praiſe, we think it a folly to receive it. Are you deſirous to know the verſes which excited my gratitude? I would refer you to the volume, if I did not retain ſome by heart: if theſe pleaſe you, look for the reſt among his works. He addreſſes himſelf to his muſe, and commands her to look for me at my houſe upon the Eſquilian hill [c], but approach it with great reſpect.

[c] One of the ſeven hills of *Rome*; at this day called, *Il Monte di Santa Maria Maggiore*.

Your

Your zeal with proper judgement ſhew,
Take heed your time and his to know;
Nor knock, when mellow, at his gate,
And pertly for admittance wait.
Whole days to ſtudious thoughts aſſign'd,
His clients take up all his mind,
Their int'reſt anxious to ſupport,
And charm with eloquence the court.
So well he ſpeaks in ev'ry cauſe,
So deep his knowledge in the laws,
That future time ſhall ſcarce agree
Whether with nobler energy,
The pow'rs of ſtrong perſuaſion hung
On his, or on a TULLY's tongue.

At ev'ning you may ſafely go,
When the firſt candles are burnt low;
Then when the merry glaſs goes round,
The gueſts with flow'ry chaplets crown'd,
Their curled locks well oil'd, the room
Sweet ſcented with the rich perfume:
'Tis then your time; that hour belongs
To verſes, epigrams, and ſongs:
No CATO, rigid and ſevere,
Will then refuſe to lend an ear.

Did not a man, who has written thus of me, deſerve to be parted with in the moſt tender manner? and can I do leſs, now he is dead, than grieve for him, as one of my beſt friends? He gave me all that was in his power; he would have given more, had

had he been able; and yet what more can be given to a man, than glory, praiſe, and external renown? But his writings will not laſt to eternity. Perhaps not: however, he certainly wrote them in hopes of their eternity. Farewell.

OBSERVATIONS.

One of the chaſteſt editions of MARTIAL, now extant, was publiſhed, ſome years ago, for the uſe of *Weſtminſter* ſchool [d]. In that edition we find the droſs extirpated, and nothing remaining except the ore. Elegance and politeneſs ought never to be ſeparated from poetry: they are the characteriſtics of humanity, and diſtinguiſh the man from the brute: but the antient poets are too often defective in theſe points; they ſoil their works with expreſſions nauſeouſly immodeſt, and abſurdly inconſiſtent with the untainted characters of the muſes. MARTIAL has been particularly erroneous in the indecency of his wit, as if he thought obſcenity had been the moſt probable method of ſecuring to himſelf immortality. He was, by birth, a *Spaniard*. The place of his nativity, if I miſtake not, was *Bilbilis* [e] in *Arragon*. He came very young to *Rome*, and lived there during the entire reigns of VITELLIUS, VESPASIAN, TITUS, DOMITIAN, and NERVA. But the emperor TRAJAN ſhewing him no great encouragement, he returned to his own country, where, in about five or ſix years, he died. He was in high eſteem with TITUS and DOMITIAN, eſpecially with the latter, who conferred many favours upon him; favours, which MARTIAL returned with ingratitude; for he flattered that emperor living, and abuſed him dead. Such mean inſults, after ſuch baſe adulations, might be one of the cauſes, that induced TRAJAN to treat him with contempt and diſdain. Nor can I think, that the epigram upon PLINY, however juſt and applicable, was compoſed for any other end, than to ingratiate himſelf with one of the emperor's chief favourites, by whoſe recommendation and countenance he hoped to take off, or, at leaſt, to abate the indignation, which TRAJAN had conceived againſt him.

Our author, throughout this epiſtle, ſeems to be endeavouring at plauſible reaſons, and tacit excuſes, for hav-

[d] THOMA FITZGERALD editore. [e] Now *Calataiud*.

ing

ing formerly appeared the friend of ſo indecent and ſo laſcivious a writer. He is conſcious, that PRISCUS may be ſurpriſed to find him lamenting the death of MARTIAL; and therefore he begins by ſetting the epigrammatiſt in as advantageous a light as poſſible. He repreſents him as a man of bitterneſs, but of candor; a ſatiriſt, but not a libeller; and then proceeds to quote the epigram in the tenth book, part of which we have already ſeen. Let us now view it all together.

MARTIALIS. Lib. x. Ep. XIX [f].

Nec doctum ſatis, et parum ſeverum,
Sed non ruſticulum nimis libellum,
Facundo, mea, PLINIO, *Thalia,*
I perfer: brevis eſt labor peractæ
Altum vincere tramitem Suburæ.
Illic ORPHEA *protinus videbis*
Udi vertice lubricum theatri,
Miranteſque feras, avemque regis,
Raptum quæ Phryga pertulit tonanti.
Illic parva tui domus PEDONIS
Cælata eſt aquilæ minore pennâ.
Sed ne tempore non tuo diſertam
Pulſes ebria januam, videto.
Totos dat tetricæ dies MINERVÆ,
Dum centum ſtudet auribus virorum
Hoc, quod ſecula, poſterique poſſint
Arpinis quoque comparare chartis:
Seras tutior ibis ad lucernas.
Hæc hora eſt tua, dum furit Lyæus,
Cum regnat roſa, cum madent capilli,
Tunc me vel rigidi legant CATONES.

[f] Editio Delphini.

MARTIAL

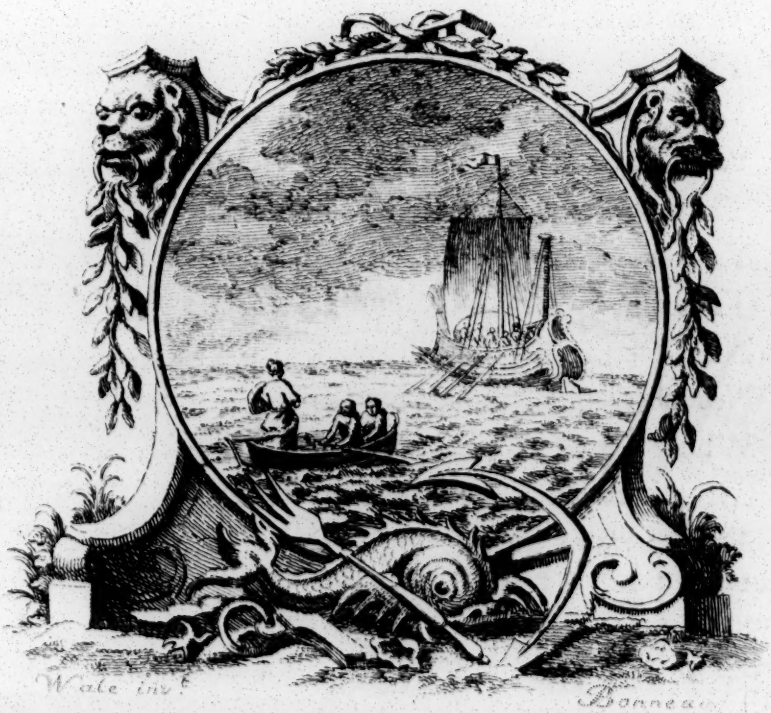
MARTIAL to his MUSE.

" Tho' not much art, or learned geer,
" Does in my careleſs book appear;
" Yet, thank my ſtars, at leaſt 'tis free
" From rude uncouth ruſticity.
" To PLINY's houſe then, muſe, repair:
" Such as it is, preſent it there,
" To PLINY's houſe, whoſe learned name
" Stands foremoſt in the rolls of fame.
" Not long the way, nor great the pain
" *Subura*'s ſteep aſcent to gain.
" From the proud theatre's ſlippery height,
" The ſculptor's art detains your ſight:
" There ORPHEUS downwards ſeems to bend,
" The ſavage herds around attend:
" There does the bird his wings diſplay,
" Who bore the *Phrygian* boy away:
" There thy own PEDO's doors are ſign'd
" With one of that ſtrong pinion'd kind,
" With leſſer wings he ſtands to view,
" Than thoſe, with which JOVE's herald flew.
" Your zeal, my muſe, with judgement ſhew,
" Take heed your time, and his to know;
" Nor knock, when mellow, at his gate,
" Nor pertly for admittance wait.
" Whole days to ſtudious thoughts aſſign'd,
" His clients take up all his mind:
" Anxious their int'reſt to ſupport,
" And charm with eloquence the court,
" So well he ſpeaks in ev'ry cauſe,
" So deep his knowledge in the laws,
" That future times ſhall ſcarce agree
" Whether with nobler energy,

" The pow'rs of ſtrong perſuaſion hung
" On his, or on a TULLY's tongue.

" At ev'ning you may ſafely go,
" When the firſt candles are burnt low;
" Then when the genial glaſs goes round,
" The gueſts with flow'ry chaplets crown'd,
" Their curled locks well oil'd, the room
" Sweet ſcented with the rich perfume:
" 'Tis then your time; that hour belongs
" To verſes, epigrams, and ſongs:
" No CATO rigid and ſevere,
" Will then refuſe to lend an ear.

The End of the THIRD BOOK.





Bonneau ſc.

PLINY's EPISTLES.

BOOK IV.

EPISTLE I.

PLINY *to* FABATUS, *his wife's grandfather.*

AFTER ſo long an abſence, you wiſh to ſee your grandaughter and me together. Your wiſh is extremely agreeable to us both; mutually ſo, upon my word. For we are equally deſirous, even to an incredible degree of impatience, to ſee you; which we ſhall no longer defer: and therefore we are now making ready for our journey, reſolved to haſten to you as ſoon as the roads are good. There will be one, and but one, ſhort delay. We muſt turn out of the road towards my *Tuſcan* territories, not to ſuperviſe my lands, and ſettle my family affairs, for that might be poſtponed,

but to perform a neceſſary duty. There is a city in the neighbourhood of my eſtate, named *Tifernum Tiberinum* [a], which adopted me, when I was very young, for its patron. The inhabitants, with more affection than judgement, celebrate my arrival among them, diſcover the greateſt concern when I depart from them, and have public rejoicings whenever they hear of my preferment. That I may make them ſuitable returns of gratitude, for to be outdone in affection is ſhameful, I have built them a temple at my own expence; and I ſhould think it a kind of irreligion, ſince it is finiſhed, to defer the dedication any longer. We ſhall be there the day of the dedication, which I intend to celebrate by a ſolemn feaſt; and perhaps we may ſtay the day following: but in that caſe, we ſhall make the more haſte in the remainder of the journey. May we meet you and your daughter in full health! for chearful and gay we ſhall certainly find you, if we arrive in ſafety. Farewell.

OBSERVATIONS.

This is one of PLINY's family pieces. They are all remarkably amiable and engaging. They affect us the deeper, like dramatic repreſentations, upon common and domeſtic ſubjects, becauſe the caſe may be our own. Thus, *The Orphan* [b] ſends the audience away in tears, when *The Mourning Bride* [c] rather moves their aſtoniſhment, than their ſorrow. The diſtreſſes of MONIMIA may happen in every private family; but a woman muſt be a princeſs, before ſhe can be as unfortunate as ALMERIA: and when PLINY writes upon exalted ſubjects, ſuch as philoſophy, eloquence, or the cuſtoms of the bar, we may admire his ſentiments, and improve by his manner of expreſſion: but when he correſponds with his intimate friends, or his near relations, the letters ſeem all our own, and we are ready, at this moment, to accompany him in his viſit to FABATUS.

[a] Now called *Citta di Caſtello* in *Umbria*.
[b] By OTWAY. [c] By CONGREVE.

The

The ſolemn feaſt, mentioned in this letter, at the dedication of the temple, was a ceremony, which the heathens continued down, with many other religious cuſtoms, from the *Jews*. The conſecration of temples was originally commanded by God himſelf. The firſt inſtance we find of it, is when the Almighty ſpeaks to MOSES in theſe words: *Thou ſhalt take the anointing oil, and anoint the tabernacle and all that is therein, and ſhalt hallow it, and all the veſſels thereof, and it ſhall be holy* [d]. The next is the dedication of SOLOMON's temple in *Jeruſalem*. The feaſt laſted ſeven days. On the eighth day *the king ſent the people away, and they bleſſed the king, and went unto their tents joyful and glad of heart*. The prayer of SOLOMON [e], upon this occaſion, is one of the nobleſt pieces of poetry, that even inſpiration itſelf has ever communicated to mankind. It is at once the ſtrongeſt example of the pathetic, and the ſublime, that can be produced in any other author, ſacred or profane. The chorus, which was ſung by the people, contains all the energy of eloquence and profound adoration; and the whole ſcene manifeſted that grandeur of devotion, which became a wiſe and powerful prince, when at the head of his ſubjects he dedicated himſelf, his temple, and his people to his Creator.

The dedication of PLINY's temple at *Tifernum* was attended with all theſe ſolemnities and ſuperſtitions of the Pagans. But ſincerity of heart, humility of prayer, uprightneſs of intention, however miſguided by erroneous principles, and outward ceremonies, muſt be acceptable, we may preſume, in the ſight of God.

[d] Exodus xl. ℣. 9. [e] 1 Kings, chap. viii.

EPISTLE II.

PLINY *to* ATRIUS CLEMENS.

REGULUS has loſt his ſon; the only misfortune he did not deſerve, becauſe I queſtion, whether he thinks it one. He was a youth of quick parts, whatever uſe he might have made of them: and perhaps he would have acted rightly, if he did not take after his father. REGULUS had made him

free, that he might take full poſſeſſion of his mother's fortune. Having thus releaſed him from ſlavery, as thoſe, who knew the temper of the man, generally termed it, he endeavoured to inſinuate himſelf into his affections by a falſe, fulſome ſhew of fondneſs, very unuſual in a parent. This is ſcarce credible; but conſider, it was REGULUS. However, he mourns extravagantly for the loſs of him. The boy had ſeveral little horſes, both in the ſtable and at graſs. He had likewiſe hounds of the large kind and the ſmall. He had nightingales, parrots, and blackbirds; all which REGULUS put to death about the funeral pile. Nor was this the effect of his grief, but the vanity of ſhewing it.

There is a wonderful reſort of all kinds of people to him. All men hate and deteſt him: yet he is viſited in ſhoals, as if they loved and admired him. In ſhort, to tell you freely my thoughts, in paying their court to REGULUS, they act towards him, as he hath done to others.

He keeps himſelf on the other ſide of the *Tiber*, at his country ſeat, where he has covered a large ſpot of ground with his immenſe porticos, and the banks of the river with his ſtatues, expenſive, amidſt the height of avarice, and vain-glorious, under the loweſt degree of infamy. Hence it is, that he puts the city in a hurry at this ſickly ſeaſon, and takes a pride in the action. He talks now of marrying again; in this, as in every thing elſe, the reverſe of all other men. You will hear ſoon of the marriage of this mourner, the marriage of this old man; on one hand, too early in point of decency: on the other, too late in point of age. Would you know from whence I propheſy this? Not from his own declarations, for nothing can outdo him in untruths, but becauſe it is very certain, REGULUS will do whatever ought not to be done. Farewell.

OBSER-

OBSERVATIONS.

This epiſtle will not afford great pleaſure. It is defective in that amiable humanity, that generous good-nature, that ſoftneſs of heart, which glow in PLINY ſo often, and on ſuch various occaſions. But ſome allowance is to be made for the perſonal diſlike, and natural ill-will, which our author conceived againſt MARCUS REGULUS, whom he has repreſented [f] as a baſe inſidious man, and who, in all probability, exerted the power, he enjoyed under DOMITIAN, to very ill purpoſes. However, the paternal tenderneſs of REGULUS demanded praiſe even from an enemy. Nor, in his intentions of marrying a ſecond time, although perhaps a little late in life, can he be fairly charged either with indecency, or indiſcretion: it may be preſumed, that his regard to his ſon kept him from marrying before; and that the deſire of an heir to his eſtate prompted him to marry now. Theſe, and many other reflexions in this letter, rather turn to the praiſe of REGULUS, than add to the ill impreſſions, which ſome former letters [g] have given us of him: and every line, in the epiſtle now treated of, is a proper leſſon to all wiſe men, to keep themſelves free from the overbearing prejudices of paſſion and reſentment.

REGULUS *filium amiſit:* "REGULUS has loſt his ſon." It is aſtoniſhing, that our author ſhould have omitted, upon this occaſion, a circumſtance, which, if it were true, was hardly poſſible to have been forgotten. In the twentieth epiſtle of the ſecond book, PLINY mentions it as a cuſtom with REGULUS, *ſibi per ſalutem filii pejurare:* and then adds, *facit hoc* REGULUS *non minus ſceleratè quàm frequenter, quòd iram deorum, quos ipſe quotidiè fallit, in caput infelicis pueri deteſtatur:* "He ſwore by his ſon's head; an oath, "which REGULUS makes uſe of no leſs wickedly than fre-"quently; and by which he calls down the anger of the "gods, whom he provokes by daily perjuries, upon the "head of this unhappy boy." How much more to his purpoſe would this obſervation have been, which was now unhappily fulfilled, than any of thoſe reflexions he has wantonly thrown out in this epiſtle? It is hardly excuſable, in a heathen, not to have remarked ſo notorious a judgement.

[f] See Book 1. Epiſtle 5.
[g] See Book 1. Ep. 5. Book 2. Ep. 11 and 20.

Emancipavit. This might, perhaps, be done by only putting on him the *toga libera*, or *virilis*; for which the uſual age was ſeventeen: but it ſeems to be in the power of a parent, either to ſhorten, or prolong the time; for CICERO tells ATTICUS, that, "upon his advice, he has laid aſide "all thoughts of going to *Arpinum*, though he had intended "to have given his ſon the *toga virilis* at that place."

Emancipavit ut hæres matris exiſteret: "He emancipated "him, that he might be rightfully his mother's heir." Emancipation gave the ſon a power of making a will; by which means he could give the eſtate, in caſe of his own death, to be diſpoſed of by his father; whereas, if the youth died in nonage, the fortune, after the father's death, muſt go to the ſon's right heirs.

EPISTLE III.

PLINY *to* M. ARRIUS ANTONINUS.

THAT you have been twice conſul, and acted with the dignity of the ancients in that office; that you have been proconſul of *Aſia*; and that ſcarce any of your predeceſſors, or ſucceſſors, your modeſty prohibits me from ſaying, none, have equalled you; and that in morality, authority, and even in age, you are the principal perſon in our city, is, I confeſs, a very venerable and beautiful part of your character: and yet I admire you ſtill more in your retirement. For, to ſeaſon that ſeverity of manners with an equal chearfulneſs of temper; to mix that conſummate gravity with as complete politeneſs, is no leſs difficult than great: and yet you do this with a certain incredible ſweetneſs in your diſcourſe, and more eſpecially in your writings. When you ſpeak, honey flows from you as from the mouth of NESTOR [h]; and when you write, the bees ſeem to be employed in pouring into every line, and working into every ſen-

[h] Τῷ καὶ ἀπὸ γλώσσης μέλιτος γλυκίων ῥέεν αὐδή. HOM. Iliad. A. ver. 249.
Words ſweet as honey from his lips diſtill'd. POPE.

tence,

tence, their extracts of the choiceſt flowers: So greatly was I charmed and affected, when I laſt read your Greek epigrams and iambics. What benevolence, what graces, what ſweetneſs, what lovelineſs do they not contain! how like the ancients! how lively! how exact! I could not avoid thinking, that I read CALLIMACHUS or HERODES, or, if poſſible, a better author. Yet, neither of the two attempted, or excelled in both theſe kinds of writing. Is it poſſible for a Roman to be ſuch a maſter of Greek? I proteſt, I believe the Attic purity is not in greater perfection at *Athens* itſelf. What need I ſay more? I envy the *Greeks*, becauſe you have choſen to write in their language: nor is it difficult to gueſs, how you would ſucceed in your native tongue, when your performances, in a foreign and tranſplanted language, have been ſo excellent. Farewell.

OBSERVATIONS.

In reviewing this epiſtle it is difficult to determine, whether the compliments themſelves are preferable to the polite manner, in which they are conveyed. Each ſentence riſes gradually, and illuſtrates what went before. PLINY appears to have been a perfect maſter in the art of praiſe; and yet the bounds between praiſe and adulation are divided by ſo fine a thread, that the exact limits are almoſt imperceptible. A friend, indeed, is apt to ſpeak more advantageouſly of us than we deſerve; but then he ſpeaks as he thinks, and errs from judgement, not from deſign. A flatterer lays aſide truth, and aims only at pleaſing; he deals about his encomiums without ſincerity or diſtinction; and if a friend *ſlays his thouſands*, a flatterer *ſlays his ten thouſands*. The compliments in this letter are manifeſtly raiſed to the higheſt point of commendation, and therefore afford a choice collection for ſycophants: but the author himſelf was undoubtedly ſincere; and hereafter we ſhall find two other epiſtles, addreſſed to the ſame perſon, upon the ſame theme, and both in the moſt unlimited ſtrains of applauſe.

CALLIMACHUS and HERODES, to whom PLINY likens his friend ANTONINUS, are men of great note and character in

in the learned world. CALLIMACHUS, who was by birth an *African*, lived in the hundred and twenty fifth Olympiad, about two hundred and eighty years before the Chriſtian æra. His works are too well known, and have employed too many of the literati, to need a long diſſertation here. QUINTILIAN, where he treats of elegy, calls him the prince of that ſpecies of poetry. Madame DACIER too, in her edition of CALLIMACHUS, affirms, *que parmi tout ce, que la Grece ancienne nous a produit, il ne s'eſt rien trouvé de plus elegant, ni rien de plus poli:* "That amidſt all the productions of antient *Greece*, no author has been found more "elegant or polite." And Monſieur LE FEVRE, her father, ſays, that CATULLUS and PROPERTIUS [i] have imitated CALLIMACHUS even to a degree of tranſlation. What a loſs then have we had in the works of ANTONINUS, if he equalled a poet of ſuch ſuperior wit and elegance?

The character of HERODES, the Athenian, is of another kind. He was the greateſt orator of his time: his ſtyle was ſo chaſte, his phraſeology ſo correct, natural, and eaſy, that he was ſurnamed the *Greek* tongue. The compariſon of ANTONINUS to two ſuch men, each ſuperlatively eminent in the arts of poetry and eloquence, eſtabliſhes his fame as an author; and the beginning of this epiſtle celebrates him as a ſtateſman. Thus he appears amiable in all lights. He was the grandfather of ANTONINUS PIUS, ſucceſſor of ADRIAN, and ſeventeenth emperor of *Rome*.

[i] PROPERTIUS mentions CALLIMACHUS in ſeveral places, and particularly begins one of his elegies,

Callimachi manes, et Coi ſacra Philetæ
In veſtrum, quæſo, me ſinite ire nemus.

Several of the epigrams of CALLIMACHUS are ſtill extant among the Ἀνθολογία.

EPISTLE

EPISTLE IV.

PLINY *to* SOSSIUS SENECIO.

I Have a moſt ſincere regard for CALVISIUS NEPOS. He is an induſtrious, upright, and learned man; which laſt qualification alone is always of great weight with me. He is very nearly related to my old chamber-fellow, and your particular friend, CAIUS CALVISIUS; for he is his ſiſter's ſon. Honour him, I intreat you, with the half year's tribuneſhip, upon his own, and upon his uncle's account. You will oblige me, you will oblige our friend CALVISIUS, you will oblige NEPOS himſelf, who will prove as reſponſible a debtor as either of us. You have conferred many favours upon many people: I dare affirm, you never made a better, and, except one or two, ſcarce ever ſo good a choice. Farewell.

OBSERVATIONS.

The military tribunes, who owed their original inſtitution to ROMULUS, were, at firſt, created by the kings, and, afterwards, by the conſuls. They had almoſt a dictatorial power in the army: they decided all controverſies among the ſoldiers; they gave out the word; they took care of encampments; they preſided over military works of every kind. This employment was eſteemed a very high honour in the ſtate; and to make it circulate the faſter, theſe officers laſted only ſix months; during which time they wore a gold ring, in the ſame manner as Roman knights, and by way of diſtinction from common ſoldiers, who always wore rings of iron, which PLINY the elder calls *bellicæ virtutis inſignia* [k].

It is moſt probable, the emperors firſt introduced half-yearly tribuneſhips, to augment the number of their officers, and encreaſe the multitude of their dependants. The form of creating theſe tribunes was by delivering them a ſword;

[k] Book 33. chap. 1.

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at which time, the conſul, who performed the ceremony, generally made ſome ſhort ſpeech to the new tribune. The words of TRAJAN, upon a like occaſion, have been much applauded, who, when he inſtituted SURA commander over the prætorian cohorts, ſaid to him, "Take this ſword; draw "it in my defence, if I govern well: if otherwiſe, employ "it to my deſtruction." SOSSIUS[1], to whom this epiſtle is addreſſed, was, at this time, conſul; and is, in all probability, the ſame perſon, to whom PLUTARCH dedicates his life of THESEUS, DEMOSTHENES, and many others.

[1] SOSSIUS SENECIO was conſul four times; the firſt under NERVA, the three laſt under TRAJAN.

EPISTLE V.

PLINY *to* SPARSUS.

IT is reported, that, at the requeſt of the *Rhodians*, ÆSCHINES read to them his own ſpeech, and afterwards the ſpeech of DEMOSTHENES; both which were received with the higheſt applauſe. I am not in the leaſt ſurpriſed, that this happened to the compoſitions of ſuch great orators; ſince ſome of the moſt learned men have heard, with the very ſame attention and approbation, even at the expence of trouble and fatigue, one of my orations, during two whole days; although there was no rivalſhip, nor any controverſy, to fire them. For the *Rhodians* were not only excited by the peculiar beauties of the two orations, but were ſpurred on by their eagerneſs of comparing them together. My ſpeech had the happineſs to pleaſe, without the advantage of any emulation: whether deſervedly, or not, you will judge, when you read the book; the bulk of which hinders me from a longer preface in my letter; for, undoubtedly, where it is in my power, I ought to be conciſe, that the volume itſelf may be more eaſily excuſed, although it certainly is not ſwelled beyond the extenſiveneſs of the theme. Farewell.

OBSER-

OBSERVATIONS.

In the courſe of theſe obſervations, the picture of DEMOSTHENES [m], as an orator, has been drawn at full length: and, in the third epiſtle of the ſecond book, our author has taken notice of that very circumſtance, relating to the *Rhodians*, which he, again, mentions in the beginning of this epiſtle. When theſe two orators are reviewed together in one light, ÆSCHINES bears the ſame degree of compariſon to DEMOSTHENES, as POMPEY bears to CÆSAR; equally great, but not equally fortunate. It is true, the precedency in eloquence is juſtly given to DEMOSTHENES: but there are ſome circumſtances in his character, which turn the balance equal, if not in favour of his rival; particularly, that inſtance of cowardice, which he ſhewed at the battle of *Chæronea*, where he flung away his buckler, and betook himſelf to flight. In his anſwer to ÆSCHINES upon this ſhameful circumſtance, he ſpeaks of it ſlightly, and with ſome ſort of peeviſhneſs, like a man, who feels himſelf in the wrong, and is deſirous to remember it as little as poſſible. The truth is, he had all the reſolution of a civil magiſtrate, and all the ſpirit of a true patriot. Theſe qualities he exerted to the utmoſt degree, amidſt the perpetual dangers, which ſurrounded him, from the partizans of a great and potent king: but he wanted that military courage and intrepidity, that preſence of mind, and firmneſs of temper, in the day of battle, which are the true characteriſtics of a brave man. Perhaps theſe qualifications, if poſſeſſed in any eminent degree, ought to be born with us, and are not to be acquired, either by reaſon, or by cuſtom. HORACE owns his defect in point of bravery, and tells VARUS,

Tecum Philippos et celerem fugam,
Senſi, relictâ non bene parmulâ [n]*:*

"With thee I ſaw Philippis' field,
"And there I left my fame and ſhield."

But, in a compliment to MÆCENAS, the ſame poet deli-

[m] See Obſervations on Epiſt. 2. Book 1. and on Epiſt. 3. Book 2.
[n] Ode 7. lib. 2.

cately

cately touches again upon his own want of bravery, in ſo genteel and ſo artful a manner, that if the worſt infirmity of nature can find pardon, or alleviation, the lines plead elegantly in its favour, eſpecially as they inſinuate, that HORACE, coward as he was, could die fighting under the banner of his patron.

Roges, tuum labore quid juvem meo,
Imbellis ac firmus parùm?
Comes minore ſum futurus in metu,
Qui major abſentes habet:
Ut aſſidens implumibus pullis avis
Serpentium allapſus timet
Magis relictis; non, ut adſit, auxilî
Latura plus præſentibus.
Libenter hoc et omne militabitur
Bellum in tuæ ſpem gratiæ °.

"You aſk, what ſervices, what great exploits,
"You can expect from me; a feeble man,
"By nature fearful, and unfit for arms?
"None, my MÆCENAS, none: but yet, I would eſcape
"Thoſe fears, which abſence oft creates: and like
"The helpleſs bird, that finds from watching greater eaſe,
"Tho' ſtill unable to defend her young
"From the dread ſerpent's maw; ſo I, methinks,
"Would hover near you whereſoe'er you go,
"And with you ſhare the dangers of the war."

But now let us return to the two orators, ÆSCHINES and DEMOSTHENES. It is obſervable, if we may judge by their famous ſpeeches *de Coronâ*, that politeneſs and good manners, at leaſt what we place under that denomination, were in no way eſſential in the Grecian art of eloquence. Both the antagoniſts uſe moſt opprobrious language towards each other. They ſcold, in imitation of HOMER's deities, like gods, and not like gentlemen: and certainly the Greek tongue, in which one word comprehends more than ten in Engliſh, is the propereſt dialect in the world for terms of reproach. Γραμματοκύφων [P] ſignifies, *a perſon, who ſtoops*

° Ep. 1. l. 15.

[P] DEMOSTHENES gives this appellation to ÆSCHINES in deriſion of his having been a ſchoolmaſter. He likewiſe calls him *ſtalking buſkin*, becauſe he had been a player.

in

in the ſhoulders, by having carried a deſk upon his back. Beſides, compound words are better adapted to deliberate rage and indignation, than the trifling, inderivative monoſyllables, that with us denote fools, knaves, and dogs. We are obliged, therefore, to enforce our invectives with various oaths and curſes, in order to fill our mouths properly, and to give a ſonorous dignity to our reſentment.

The orations, thus hinted at by PLINY, one in oppoſition, the other in defence of CTESIPHO's decree, were the produce of four years labour, and drew to *Athens* a prodigious concourſe of learned men. But the orations, and all circumſtances relating to the two orators, who ſpoke them, are ſo fully known, and have been ſo much enlarged upon, by numerous authors, that any farther mention of them, in this place, is needleſs.

EPISTLE VI.

PLINY *to* JULIUS NASO.

THEY tell me, my *Tuſcan* farms have been much ſhattered by ſtorms of hail. My eſtate beyond the *Po* has yielded grain in abundance; but then from the low price it bears I receive but little profit from it. My *Laurentinum* only makes me any return. Indeed, I have no poſſeſſions there, except a houſe and garden; all the lands I have about them are barren: nevertheleſs, from thence my profit ſolely ariſes; for there I write much, and, inſtead of cultivating lands, which I have not, I cultivate myſelf; and, as in other places, I can ſhew you a well filled granary, ſo here you ſhall ſee a ſtorehouſe of manuſcripts. If, therefore, you alſo have a mind to enjoy a ſure and prolific crop, ſow ſomething upon the ſame ſhore. Farewell.

OBSERVATIONS.

Comum was the eſtate, which PLINY ſpeaks of, beyond the *Po*. After his father's death, it fell into the poſſeſſion of his

his mother, or, as we expreſs it, was her jointure. In two or three preceding epiſtles, he deſcribes it as a beautiful place; but in a letter to VALERIANUS [q], he complains of the ſituation; and probably for the reaſon here aſſigned, the cheapneſs which every ſort of grain bore in that part of the *Milaneſe*. Under theſe vexatious circumſtances, our author wraps himſelf up in the philoſophic contentment, which ſtudy and the liberal arts afford. What glorious contemplations muſt ariſe, in a breaſt like PLINY's, devoid of all thoſe corroſive cares, and that ceaſeleſs anxiety, which covetous and worldly inclinations inſpire; and yet ſo prudent in conduct and œconomy, as to live free from debts, and the many irkſome incumbrances, which ſtudious and abſtracted men often bring upon themſelves! The medium between ſupine negligence, and unneceſſary ſollicitude, is ſo narrow a path, that few people can walk in it, without treading awry, and inclining to one ſide, or the other. We are apt to love money too wiſely, or to deſpiſe it too fooliſhly; not conſidering, that profuſeneſs is a rock, no leſs dangerous to ſplit upon, than avarice.

[q] Book 2. Ep. 15.

EPISTLE VII.

PLINY *to* LEPIDUS.

I Often tell you, that REGULUS is a man of ſpirit. It is amazing, how effectually he accompliſhes whatever he has ſet his heart upon. He was pleaſed to mourn for his ſon: no man ever mourned like him: his fancy led him to employ all the ſhops in *Rome*, to make numberleſs ſtatues and images of this youth; who was repreſented in colours, in wax, in braſs, in ſilver, in gold, in ivory, in marble: and he himſelf lately recited a treatiſe on his life, to a large audience aſſembled for that purpoſe. The treatiſe he recited was only an abſtract of his ſon's life: yet he had a thouſand copies of it tranſcribed, which he ſent throughout all *Italy*, and the provinces. He wrote

wrote, in a public manner, to the *Decurions* [a], that one out of their number, a perſon, who had the beſt voice, ſhould be choſen to read it to the people; which was done.

Had he adapted this ſpirit, or given any other name to our efforts in obtaining whatever we wiſh, to better purpoſes, of what infinite benefit might he have been to the world? Although, indeed, this ſpirit is ſeldom ſo vigorous in good, as in bad men; and as ignorance inſpires boldneſs, and reaſon incites timidity, ſo a right turned mind is enfeebled by modeſty; but a perverſe diſpoſition fortified by impudence: of which REGULUS is an example; weak lungs, a confuſed countenance, a ſtammering tongue, a dull invention, no memory; in ſhort, nothing but a wild, frantic genius; and yet it ſo happens, that from his impudence, nay from his very wildneſs, he is looked upon by many people as an orator. Therefore CATO's apophthegm [b] upon an orator was admirably turned, by HERENNIUS SENECIO, againſt REGULUS: "An orator is a "bad man, unſkilled in ſpeaking." In truth, CATO did not deſcribe a true orator, ſo well as this ſaying deſcribes REGULUS.

Have you any equivalent to ſend me for ſuch an epiſtle as this? Yes, you have, if you write me word that ſome of my old companions, your fellow-citizens, or that you yourſelf, have read in the *Forum*, mountebank-like, this doleful performance of REGULUS; raiſing, as DEMOSTHENES ſays, "your "voice moſt merrily, and ſtraining every muſcle in "your throat." For ſo abſurd is the performance, that it will ſooner incite laughter than ſorrow. You will rather imagine a child the author, than the ſubject of the book. Farewell.

[a] Of each province.

[b] CATO's definition of an orator was, *Orator eſt vir bonus, dicendi peritus:* "An orator is a good man, ſkilful in ſpeaking." See QUINTILIAN, Book 12. Chap. 1.

OBSERVATIONS.

REGULUS again! his mourning for his ſon again turned into ridicule and merriment! Here PLINY ſtands in greater need of defence than REGULUS: nor can any more be ſaid on his behalf than what has been already hinted, that the provocations and the injuries he received from his brother orator, during the reign of DOMITIAN, were too great to be ever forgotten. But how poor is his wit, how falſe his reaſoning in this epiſtle! Or ſuppoſe the one as bright, and the other as juſt, as his own prejudiced mind could deſire, how ungenerous, how inhuman an action is it, to inſult a parent, be his private character what it will, for endeavouring to preſerve the fame, and eternize the reputation of his only ſon? To comfort the afflicted, to quiet envy, to conquer prejudice, and to obliterate revenge, are ſocial virtues, which PLINY would have exerted towards any other man, or upon any other occaſion: but the very name of REGULUS ſeems to ſet him on fire, and to conſume, for a time, even the appearance of his real diſpoſition.

Benevolence, generoſity, and compaſſion were the true characteriſtics of our author's temper: whence then this ſudden eruption of the oppoſite vices? Not ſo much, I imagine, from revenge as envy. REGULUS, though wicked, infamous, and abandoned in many inſtances, made a conſiderable figure as a lawyer. His knowledge and capacity were undoubtedly great. He was generally in oppoſition to our author, and perhaps was often attended to with applauſe. It may be preſumed therefore, that the ſeverity, ſhewn by PLINY to every action of his enemy's life, proceeds from that falſe imagination, too prevalent in the world, that our own pretenſions to merit receive an entire ſanction, from the darkneſs we endeavour to ſpread over the illuſtrious good qualities of our competitors. We meet with daily inſtances of this erroneous notion in both ſexes. The ladies can bear no rivals in beauty, the men no rivals in wit. The ſorrow, which REGULUS diſcovered for his ſon, is by no means to be looked upon as inſincere; nor is the regard, he paid to the youth's memory, either to be laughed at, or diſpraiſed. If we may believe MARTIAL, he had great reaſon to bewail the loſs of a ſon, whoſe very infancy promiſed wonders. The epigram on that occaſion may ſerve to conclude the obſervations upon this inveterate epiſtle.

Adſpicis

Adſpicis ut parvus, nec adhuc trieteride plenâ,
Regulus auditum laudet et ipſe patrem;
Maternoſque ſinus, viſo genitore, relinquat,
Et patrias laudes ſentiat eſſe ſuas.
Jam clamor, centumque viri, denſumque coronæ
Vulgus, et infanti Julia tecta placent.
Acris equi ſoboles magno ſic pulvere gaudet;
Sic vitulus mollia prælia fronte cupit.
Dî, ſervate, precor, matri ſua vota, patrique,
Audiat ut natum Regulus, illa duos [c].

Whilſt Regulus, with niceſt art,
Pleads his victorious client's cauſe;
See his young image bear a part,
And join in the deſerv'd applauſe!

How eager, when his ſire comes forth,
We ſee him from his mother run,
As tho' he knew, the father's worth
Reflected honour on the ſon.

The ſpacious hall his eye ſurveys,
The court, and crouds, that preſs to hear;
The ſhouts, that ſpeak his father's praiſe,
Already charm his infant ear.

So youthful courſers paw the ground,
Impatient for the future race;
So wanton heifers aim a wound,
E're ſprouting horns their forehead grace.

All ye powers immortal! crown
With juſt ſucceſs each parent's vows!
Long live the ſire, to hear his ſon;
The mother, both her ſon, and ſpouſe.

[c] Martial. Lib. 6. Ep. 38. De filio Reguli.

EPISTLE VIII.

PLINY *to* ARRIANUS.

YOU congratulate me upon being inveſted with the augurſhip. You are in the right. Firſt, it is an honour, to meet with the approbation of our moſt renowned emperor, even in affairs of the leaſt conſequence: and then again, this prieſthood is not only an antient and ſacred office, but the more conſpicuous and venerable, becauſe held for life. For other ſacerdotal offices, though they are almoſt equal in dignity; yet, as they are beſtowed one day, ſo may they be taken away the next. This alone is not in the power of fortune, except in the firſt gift of it. But your compliments appear to me particularly agreeable, as I have ſucceeded JULIUS FRONTINUS, a very great man, and one, who for many years together conſtantly named me among thoſe prieſts upon the returning day of nomination, as if he would have adopted me into his place. But the event has now happened in ſuch a manner, as not to make it ſeem the work of chance. The chief pleaſure, that ariſes to you, as you ſay, from my new dignity, is, that MARCUS TULLIUS was an augur. You are glad, that I ſhould ſucceed in honours a perſon, whom I deſire to emulate in ſtudies. However, I cannot avoid wiſhing, that as I have arrived younger than he, to the ſacerdotal, and conſular dignities; ſo I may, in ſome degree, when I am old, rival him in dignity of genius. What is in the gift of men indeed may fall to the lot of me, and many others. But, as it is difficult to reach, ſo it is preſumptuous to hope for what is in the gift of heaven alone. Farewell.

OBSER-

OBSERVATIONS.

Mankind is naturally ſuperſtitious. We have been ſo from the original of the world, and are likely to continue ſo to the end of it: *ſuperſtitio fuſa per gentes oppreſſit omnium ferè animos, atque hominum imbecillitatem occupavit:* "Superſtition, "when once diffuſed through the world, oppreſſed the ſouls "of almoſt the whole human race, and fixed itſelf upon "the weakneſs of our nature," ſays TULLY in his ſecond book *de Divinatione* [d]: but it is difficult to give any clear and ſatisfactory definition of ſuperſtition: authors are not agreed from whence the word is to be derived. The *Greek* word Δεισιδαιμονία, which we tranſlate "ſuperſtition," ſignifies only the fear of the Deity; but the word itſelf is *Latin*, and, according to the great orator, juſt now quoted, "thoſe "were called ſuperſtitious, who prayed and ſacrificed whole "days, that their children might outlive them: but the "word, ſays he, was afterwards uſed in a larger accepta-"tion [e]." Other authors give other definitions of it; but now, and indeed for many ages, it ſeems, in the common acceptation, to ſignify a frivolous and groundleſs apprehenſion of the Deity; which apprehenſion produces many idle, if not wicked practices; ſuch as, in the judgement of wiſe and diſpaſſionate men, muſt be needleſs, and ſome of them rather offenſive, than pleaſing to the ſupreme Being. From this account of the common notion of ſuperſtition it is plain, that what one man thinks ſuperſtition, another thinks a neceſſary part of religion; what one holds to be diſpleaſing, another judges to be acceptable to God: and it is no wonder we differ ſo widely in matters of the utmoſt importance, when our opinions are as various, and as zealous, in trifles, that neither concern our happineſs on this, nor on the other ſide of the grave. But whatever allowance may be made to weak minds in the practice of leſſer degrees of ſuperſtition, for which, perhaps, they are rather to be pitied, than condemned; yet when this idolatrous kind of worſhip grows outragious, and puts men upon actions pernicious to their

[d] Page 262.

[e] De naturâ deorum, book 2. c. 28. Qui totos dies precabantur et immolabant, ut ſui liberi ſibi ſuperſtites eſſent, ſuperſtitioſi ſunt appellati: quod nomen poſtea latius patuit.

fellow-creatures, who does not join in opinion with PLUTARCH [f], and lord BACON [g], that it is worſe than atheiſm? For example, what can be more ſhocking, than thoſe religious practices among the heathens, of appeaſing their deities by human ſacrifices?

Mos fuit in populis, quos condidit advena DIDO,
Poſcere cæde deos veniam, ac flagrantibus aris
(Infandum dictu) parvos imponere natos [h].

" Where DIDO ſettled, long a law had ſtood
" Amongſt the people to appeaſe with blood
" The pow'rs incens'd; and there the fire ſurvey'd
" The ſon, his hands had on the altar laid.

And PLINY [i] the elder tells us, that ſo late only as the ſix hundred and fifty ſeventh year of *Rome*, the ſenate paſſed a decree, forbidding human ſacrifice: his words are, DCLVII *demum anno urbis* CN. CORNELIO LENTULO, P. LICINIO CRASSO *coſſ. ſenatuſconſultum factum eſt, ne homo immolaretur; palamque in tempus illud ſacra prodigioſa celebrata:* " In " the year of *Rome* ſix hundred and fifty ſeven, in the con- " ſulſhip of LENTULUS and CRASSUS, an order of ſenate " was eſtabliſhed, to prevent homicide, and thoſe aſtoniſh- " ing religious rites, which were openly celebrated in that " age." We find too, from antient authors, that the barbarous combats of gladiators were originally inſtituted at funerals, for the propitiation of departed ſouls, by the effuſion of human blood. ROSINUS [k], in his chapter *de ludis funebribus et gladiatoriis*, has this among other quotations from TERTULLIAN, *nam olim, quoniam animas defunctorum humano ſanguine propitiari creditum eſt, captivos, vel malo ingenio ſervos mercati, in exequiis immolabant:* " For formerly, " becauſe it was an opinion, that the ſouls of the deceaſed " were appeaſed by human blood, thoſe who had bought " captives, or ſlaves of bad diſpoſitions, ſacrificed them at " funeral rites." And the Pſalmiſt, ſpeaking of the idola-

[f] PLUTARCH. περὶ δεισιδαιμονίας, vol. ii. p. 164.
[g] BACON's eſſay on ſuperſtition.
[h] SILIUS ITALICUS, lib. 4.
[i] PLIN. Nat. Hiſt. book 30. chap. 1.
[k] Lib. 5. cap. 2.

tries,

tries, which the children of *Iſrael* learned from the heathens, ſays, *they were mingled among the heathen, and learned their works; inſomuch that they worſhipped their idols, which turned to their own decay; yea, they offered their ſons and their daughters unto devils, and ſhed innocent blood, even the blood of their ſons and their daughters, whom they offered unto the idols of* Canaan, *and the land was defiled with blood*[1]. Theſe inhuman practices have been condemned in outward profeſſion by Chriſtians of all denominations. But it is undeniably too true, that the notions of religion, entertained by ſome Chriſtians, have led them into practices no leſs barbarous: and, what is ſtill more melancholy and unaccountable, they have endeavoured to found thoſe notions upon the principles of Chriſtianity; whoſe precepts, throughout the whole New Teſtament, appear plainly calculated for the promotion of mildneſs, humanity, charity, affection, and good-nature. A Chriſtian, therefore, muſt diſgrace his profeſſion, if he pays too much reverence to external rites and ceremonies, which are not made neceſſary by the commandment of CHRIST. He is likewiſe equally blameable, if he ſuffer himſelf to be led by ſuch a ſpirit of perſecution, as to think himſelf obliged to uſe violence for the propagation of his religion, or to make his fellow-creatures, who differ from him in religious ſentiments, miſerable in this world, in order to make them happy in the next. But whilſt theſe ſuperſtitious tenets are utterly to be condemned, as productive of very unhappy effects to mankind, we ought alſo to cenſure that other latitudinarian extreme, which allows a pernicious liberty of venting the moſt wicked and blaſphemous opinions, and countenances the moſt indecent, and even irreverent behaviour towards the Deity. How highly then is the doctrine and diſcipline of the Church of *England* to be approved? for, with great wiſdom, ſhe has choſen the middle way between the *Papiſt* and the *Puritan*; between the foppery of the one, and the clowniſhneſs of the other; between the folly of thoſe, who preſs the uſe of too many, and often ridiculous ceremonies, and the irreverence of thoſe, who forbid the uſe of any.

Into what a length of thought have I been betrayed by ſuperſtition! the idea of which was not poſſibly to be ſeparated from the augurate, ſpoken of by PLINY in this

[1] Pſalm cvi. ℣. 35.

epiſtle: but if I have wandered too far out of my road, merely to attack giants and monſters, that infeſt our iſlands, this excuſe, I hope, may be allowed in favour of my knight-errantry, that it was in defence of the manners and religion of my country; a cauſe, in which puſillanimity or lukewarmneſs would be irreparably ſhameful.

To return to the idolatry that prevailed at *Rome* in PLINY's time. The augurs were a ſet of prieſts, inſtituted by NUMA. *Augures*, ROMULO *regnante*, *nulli erant: ab* NUMA POMPILIO *creati*: "There were no augurs during "the reign of ROMULUS: they were created by NUMA "POMPILIUS." Their prieſthood was for life; a circumſtance which, PLINY ſeems to think, rendered the office holy: *tum hoc quoque ſacrum plane et inſigne eſt, quòd non adimitur viventi*: "This circumſtance is avowedly ſacred, and "very extraordinary, that the office of augur is for life." It was happy for the prieſts, that their ordination was held ſo ſacred, as not to be reverſed; eſpecially as they were obliged to expound omens, prodigies, and dreams; which, if not expounded to the will and inclination of great men, might have proved of fatal conſequence to the expoſitors. I am pleaſed to find, that PLINY takes no notice of the ſuperſtitious duties of the office. He knew them to be ridiculous and deluſive; and therefore he looks upon the augurſhip as an honour, becauſe it was beſtowed only upon perſons of the firſt rank in character and ſtation [m]: and he eſteems it ſacred, becauſe the augurs were appointed and revered as the miniſters of heaven. They were originally three in number, then four, and, laſtly, fifteen.

[m] Tantæ authoritatis, ut nihil magni in republicâ fieret inaugurato. Ad viros ſapientiâ et nobilitate præcellentes ſacerdotium illud præferebatur. KIPPINGI Antiquitat. Romanarum, lib. 1. cap. 12.

EPISTLE IX.

PLINY *to* URSUS.

FOR ſome days paſt JULIUS BASSUS has been upon his defence in the ſenate; a pains-taking man, made famous by his misfortunes. He was accuſed,

cuſed, during the government of VESPASIAN, by two private men; and his cauſe being remitted to the ſenate, it remained there a long time. At length he was fully juſtified and acquitted. Under the reign of TITUS he lived in terror, as he was the friend of DOMITIAN; and yet he was baniſhed by DOMITIAN, recalled by NERVA, and having obtained the government of *Bithynia*, he returned under an accuſation. Nor was he more ſeverely proſecuted, than faithfully defended. The ſenators gave various opinions of him: moſt of them, however, of the mildeſt kind. POMPONIUS RUFUS, a ready and impetuous ſpeaker, opened the accuſation. He was ſeconded by THEOPHANES, one of the deputies, who was the chief incendiary, and indeed the original cauſe of this proſecution. I anſwered; having been enjoined by BASSUS to lay the foundations of his whole defence; to give an account of all his honours, which were great, both from the ſplendor of his anceſtors, and his own dangers; to ſpeak of the conſpiracy of the informers [n], who had their own private gain in view; to lay open the cauſes, by which he had offended the moſt factious among them, particularly THEOPHANES himſelf. He was likewiſe deſirous, that I would ſet myſelf to clear him of that crime which preſſed him cloſeſt: for as to other complaints, though they ſounded more loudly, yet he did not only merit pardon, but applauſe. This charge lay hardeſt upon him, that, in an undeſigning ſimplicity of heart, he was unguarded enough to receive, as a token of their friendſhip, certain preſents from the people of his province; which was nothing extraordinary, ſince he had been their queſtor. Theſe preſents were termed thefts and plunder by his accuſers; he called them gifts. But then he could not lawfully receive any gifts. Here what was I to do?

[n] The informers were entitled to a fourth part of every confiſcation.

What

What road was I to take in the defence? Was I to deny a fact? I dreaded, leſt it ſhould plainly appear a theft, becauſe I was afraid to confeſs it: beſides, to deny a manifeſt act, was to aggravate, not to leſſen the crime; eſpecially when the accuſed perſon himſelf had utterly deprived his advocates of ſuch a plea: for he had acknowledged to many perſons, and even to the emperor, that he had received upon his birthday, or at the *Saturnalia*, ſome ſmall preſents, and had likewiſe ſent ſome to many of his friends. Should I have recourſe to the clemency of his judges? That was putting a knife to his throat, by granting he had offended in ſuch a manner, as to need a public pardon. Was I to defend the action as right? I ſhould then have done him no ſervice, and have diſhonoured myſelf. In this difficulty, I thought it beſt to keep the middle road. I believe I have done it. My pleading was interrupted, as battles ſometimes are, by the night. I ſpoke three hours and an half: an hour and an half ſtill remained; for, as the law allowed the accuſer ſix hours, the accuſed had nine; and he had divided that time between me and the perſon, who was to ſpeak after me; ſo that I was to have five hours, and he the reſt. The viſible ſucceſs of my pleading perſuaded me to put an end to my diſcourſe in the manner I did. For it is raſh not to be content, when things are in a proſperous way. Add to this, I was afraid, leſt, by a renewal of my labour, my ſtrength might fail me; ſince it was more difficult to take up the thread of my ſpeech, than to continue ſpeaking. There was danger too, that my pleadings might appear languid, if diſcontinued, and tedious, if reaſſumed. For as torches, by a continual motion, preſerve their flame, but with difficulty recover it, when extinguiſhed; ſo the warmth of the ſpeaker, and the attention of the hearer, are kept up by continuance, but languiſh by any interval, or remiſſion. But BASSUS, with many pray-

ers,

ers, even almoſt with tears, entreated me to fill up my time. I obeyed, and preferred his intereſt to my own. It ſucceeded well. I found the minds of the ſenate ſo full of expectation, and ſo freſh, that they ſeemed more eager to hear my future, than to have been ſatiated by my former pleading. LUCIUS ALBINUS ſpoke after me, ſo properly, that our ſpeeches, which were thought to contain the variety of two, were ſo well connected, that they ſeemed to form one continued diſcourſe. HERENNIUS POLLIO replied with force and dignity. THEOPHANES then ſpoke again; which he did, as he does every thing, with the greateſt impudence; becauſe after two conſular and eloquent men had finiſhed, he demanded more time, than is commonly allowed. He held out till night, even till lights were brought in. The next day, HOMULUS and FRONTO pleaded for BASSUS; incomparably well. The proofs took up the fourth day. BÆBIUS MACER, conſul elect, was of opinion, that BASSUS was guilty of a breach of the law againſt bribery; CÆPIO HISPO, that, without infringement upon the dignity of the ſenate, they might appoint judges to try his offence. Both were in the right. You aſk, how can that be, ſince their opinions were ſo widely different? Becauſe it was reaſonable for MACER, who only conſidered the letter of the law, to condemn that man, who received preſents, contrary to the law; and CÆPIO, becauſe he imagined it lawful for the ſenate, as it certainly was, to mitigate, and ſuperintend the laws, thought it very reaſonable, that they might pardon a fact, which, though indeed forbidden, was, nevertheleſs, often committed, The opinion of CÆPIO prevailed: nay, when he roſe to deliver his opinion, as great acclamations were given him, as attend others, when they ſit down. From whence you may conclude, with how unanimous a conſent his motion was received, when he had made it, ſince it met with ſo much favour

before

before hand. However, the judgements of people are divided into two parties, not only in the ſenate, but in the city. Thoſe, who think the opinion of CÆPIO right, condemn the propoſition of MACER, as too rigid and ſevere: thoſe, again, who ſide with MACER, call the determination of CÆPIO not only too eaſy, but even an inconſiſtent decree; for they abſolutely deny, that a perſon, who is to be tried by the ordinary judges, ſhould be ſuffered to remain in the ſenate. There was likewiſe a third opinion. VALERIUS PAULINUS, being of the ſame ſentiments with CÆPIO, added this farther, that they ſhould inform againſt THEOPHANES, as ſoon as his deputation expired. For he charged him with many things, in the courſe of the proſecution, that were within the very law, by virtue of which he had accuſed BASSUS. But the conſuls, although the greateſt part of the ſenate approved of the opinion, did not come into it. However, PAULINUS had all the honour, which ſo honeſt and ſo equitable a motion deſerved. When the ſenate was diſmiſſed, BASSUS was received by a numerous concourſe of people, with great acclamations and great joy. A name made famous by misfortunes, which were called to remembrance by the danger he had juſt eſcaped, together with a ſettled melancholy, and broken old-age united in a graceful perſon, had rendered him acceptable in all eyes. Keep this letter, as the forerunner of another; for I know you will expect the full and entire oration [o]; and I fear you may long expect it; for the reviſal of a ſpeech, upon an affair of ſo great conſequence, muſt not be light and curſory. Farewell.

OBSERVATIONS.

The forms of theſe trials before the ſenate, or other *Roman* judges, appear in ſo many different lights, that it is dif-

[o] In defence of JUL BASSUS.

ficult

ficult to ſay, in what method the proceedings were carried on. The accuſation was verbal only. If the perſon accuſed was ſilent, or confeſſed his guilt, he was condemned; but if he denied the crime, his name was ſet down among thoſe, who ſtood accuſed, and the ſubſtance of the accuſation was reduced into writing, and a day of trial appointed.

In reading over epiſtles upon theſe topics, it is natural to conſider the variations between the Roman uſages and our own. In the trial of BASSUS two moſt remarkable differences occur to our notice. The firſt is, that the council for the accuſed ended the debate; the ſecond, that all the council for and againſt the accuſed, argued before the proofs were read. The contrary practice prevails with us. In civil cauſes, the council for the complainant, and in criminal cauſes, the council for the king, always end the debate; which is called, *Having the right to reply:* nor do the council ever argue till the proofs are read. Our uſage is certainly founded upon reaſon. The judges ought to be apprized of the facts; otherwiſe how can they judge of the arguments ariſing from thoſe facts? It will be needleſs to ſhew, how much the Engliſh cuſtoms are preferable to the Roman, in theſe two particular points: we may reſt ſatisfied, that our conſtitution, in general, is the beſt in the world: ſo very excellent, perhaps, that, like our religion, it can be admired in theory only, but will ſcarce ever be kept up to in practice.

Dixit in noctem, atque etiam nocte, illatis lucernis: "He "ſpoke till night, and even after the candles were brought "in." No pleadings laſted longer than day-light. PLINY, in the eleventh epiſtle of the ſecond book, expreſly ſays, *Neque enim jam inchoari poterat actio, niſi ut noctis interventu ſcinderetur:* "Nor could the pleadings have been carried on, "unleſs, by the approach of night, they had been referred "to another day." So that the lights, which were brought into the ſenate-houſe, were not brought thither, that THEOPHANES might continue his argument, but to give light to the aſſembly, as they went away.

CÆPIO HISPO, *ſalvâ dignitate, judices dandos.* The full meaning of this ſentence is very hard to be aſcertained. We are left, as in many other epiſtles, to gueſs, at random, the particular law, or cuſtom, to which PLINY alludes. *Salvâ dignitate* certainly refers to the ſenate, who were not to deſcend to any decree, or reſolution, below their dignity. In the

the eleventh epiſtle of the firſt book there is an expreſſion of this kind, relating to MARIUS PRISCUS. *Omiſſâ defenſione, judices petiit.* It is explained in the manner, that ſeemed the moſt probable ſenſe of that epiſtle. But here the *judices dandos* may bear another interpretation. Let us conſider the following expreſſion. *Negant enim congruens eſſe, retinere in ſenatu, cui judices dederis:* "For they ſay, that it is incon-"ſiſtent, that thoſe, who had ſubmitted to the ſcrutiny of "judges, ſhould remain in the ſenate." We may from hence imagine, that ſenators, when tried by the ſenate, were ſometimes ſent down to inferior courts, without receiving ſentence from their own body: and, in that caſe, it was thought improper, that thoſe perſons, to whom this kind of mercy had been ſhewn, ſhould ſit again in their places as ſenators, becauſe they had ſubjected themſelves to an inferior juriſdiction. Thus BASSUS had ſo manifeſtly offended againſt a poſitive law [o], that he muſt have been condemned by the ſenate, if they had proceeded to a definitive ſentence: but a lower court of judicature, ſuch as the *Decemviri*, or *Centumviri ſtlitibus judicandis*, might ſoften the puniſhment, or might determine the preſents, which BASSUS had received, to have been gifts of cuſtom, not tokens of bribery.

[o] The *Julia lex, de pecuniis repetundis*, particularly levelled againſt the miſdemeanors of provincial governors.

EPISTLE X.

PLINY *to* SABINUS.

YOU write me word, that SABINA, who made us her heirs, has not, by any expreſs clauſe of her will, ordered her ſlave MODESTUS to be free, and yet has left him a legacy in theſe words, "I give "to MODESTUS, *&c.* whom I commanded ſhould "be free." You aſk my opinion upon this matter? I have conſulted the moſt eminent lawyers: they all agree, that he neither is entitled to his liberty, becauſe it was not actually given, nor to his legacy, becauſe ſhe left it to a ſlave [p]. But to me this appears

[p] A ſlave was incapable of inheritance: whatever was left to a ſlave belonged to his maſter.

a manifeſt

a manifeſt error: and therefore I think we ought to act, as if ſhe had ordered it in expreſs terms; becauſe ſhe imagined ſhe had ſo done. I am confident you will be of my opinion, ſince you never failed, in the moſt religious manner, to fulfil the will of the dead, which good heirs always underſtand as a law. In this our honour is concerned, which has not leſs weight with you and me, than a legal neceſſity with others. Let us permit him, therefore, to have his liberty. Let him enjoy his legacy, as if ſhe had taken all proper ſteps in his favour. By a right choice of executors, all proper ſteps are taken. Farewell.

OBSERVATIONS.

This is the counterpart of the ſixteenth epiſtle in the ſecond book. PLINY will not in the leaſt recede from that glorious law, (*propriam quandam legem*) which he had laid down to himſelf, in relation to the will of the dead. But, in the caſe of MODESTUS, it was impoſſible for him to act in the manner he intended, without the full conſent and approbation of SABINUS, who, by SABINA's will, was appointed joint heir with our author. This epiſtle is written with a view to gain his collegue's conſent; and the method he takes, to obtain his generous purpoſe, ſhews an infinite deal of that honeſt ſkill and artifice, which are abſolutely neceſſary in the currency of buſineſs with mankind. He begins by finding fault with the determinations of the lawyers, whoſe opinions turned upon the literal ſenſe, not upon the real intentions, of SABINA's will: and from thence he argues, that her heir ought to act, as if the due forms of law had been executed; becauſe the lady herſelf imagined, that ſhe had done every thing neceſſary to give MODESTUS his liberty. He then puts SABINUS in mind of his former behaviour, in executing the wills of thoſe perſons, to whom he had been left heir; and inſiſts, that a good heir, or, in other words, a juſt and upright man, will fulfil the intention of the deceaſed as minutely, as if it had been expreſſed in ſuch a legal manner, that the law would enforce the execution. He ſeems to have a perfect confidence, that

that SABINUS will concur with theſe ſentiments: for honeſty, continues our author, has as full power over us, as the laws have over other people. This was a kind of compliment, which SABINUS could not contradict, without denying himſelf capable of ſo virtuous an action: and therefore he is obliged, whether he will or not, to act conformably to PLINY's inclinations; who concludes his letter, by ſtill giving a more enticing reaſon for the joint-heir's compliance, in theſe words: *Cavit enim quæ hæredes bene elegit:* "SABINA "had been much more cautious and circumſpect in draw- "ing, and wording her will, had not ſhe ſupplied any im- "perfection of that kind, by appointing men of honour for "her heirs."

The two common methods among the *Romans* of giving liberty to their ſlaves were by teſtament, or manumiſſion. The words uſed in both theſe ceremonies were, *Hunc hominem liberum eſſe volo.* The defect of theſe words occaſioned the doubt on that part of SABINA's will, which was in favour of MODESTUS. But I fear the examples have been few, where heirs or executors have imitated PLINY, by preferring equity and juſtice to the nice diſtinctions and minute formalities of the law.

EPISTLE XI.

PLINY *to* CORNELIUS MINUTIANUS.

HAVE you heard that VALERIUS LICINIANUS has ſet up a ſchool in *Sicily?* I believe you have not heard it, for the news is freſh. He, who lately of prætorian dignity was accounted one of the beſt pleaders in *Rome*, is now fallen ſo low, as, from a ſenator, to become an exile; from an orator, a teacher of rhetoric: inſomuch that he himſelf, at the opening of his ſchool, ſaid with a ſorrowful and ſolemn countenance, "O fortune! what ſport doſt "thou make to thyſelf? Thou makeſt ſenators of "ſchoolmaſters, and ſchoolmaſters of ſenators." In which expreſſion there is ſo much gall and bitterneſs, that I could almoſt fancy he ſet up a ſchool merely

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to have an opportunity of ſaying it. Again, when he made his firſt appearance in ſchool, in a Grecian dreſs, (for thoſe, who are under ſentence of baniſhment, have no right to wear the Roman gown,) after he was a little compoſed, and had ſurveyed his habit, "I am, however, ſays he, to declaim in *Latin*."

Theſe, you will ſay, are melancholy and moving ſtories. Yet he, who, by the crime of inceſt, could bring ſuch a ſcandal upon his profeſſion, certainly deſerved his ſentence. It is true, he confeſſed the inceſt; but then it is uncertain, whether that confeſſion proceeded from guilt, or from fear of greater puniſhment, if he had denied it. For DOMITIAN was in a very great rage; and that rage was ſtill encreaſed by the want of ſufficient evidence to ſupport that horrible ſentence he was determined to give. And when the emperor reſolved that CORNELIA, *chief of the veſtal virgins* [a], ſhould be buried alive, as thinking to make his reign illuſtrious by ſuch an example [b], he ſummoned, by authority as high-prieſt, or, rather, by his tyrannic diſpoſition, and the wantonneſs of an abſolute prince, the chief prieſts to meet together, not in the pontifical college, but at his country-ſeat at *Alba*; where, with a crime equal to that which he ſeemed to puniſh, without citing her to appear, or giving her leave to ſpeak in her own defence, he condemned her of inceſt; although he himſelf had not only been guilty of the ſame crime with his brother's daughter, but had alſo been the occaſion of her death; for ſhe died of abortion in her widowhood.

[a] In the *Oxford* edition of PLINY's Epiſtles, this ſentence ſtands thus, CORNELIAM MAXIMILLAM VESTALEM; in the edition by LONGOLIUS, which is here followed, CORNELIAM VESTALIUM MAXIMAM. This laſt reading ſeems preferable, becauſe CORNELIA ſays, ſhe performed the ſacrifice on the day when DOMITIAN triumphed; and it may be preſumed, the chief prieſteſs officiated on ſo joyful and ſo ſolemn an occaſion.

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[b] Of ſeverity.

The chief-prieſts were immediately ſent to ſee the ſentence againſt CORNELIA put into execution. She, at one time invoking VESTA, and then appealing to the reſt of the gods, among other exclamations, frequently repeated this in particular: "CÆSAR thinks "I am guilty of inceſt; I, who performed the ſa-"cred rites when he conquered and triumphed." Whether ſhe meant this by way of flattery, or deriſion, from a conſciouſneſs of her own innocence, or a contempt of the emperor, is uncertain. She continued crying out in this manner, till ſhe was brought to the place of execution: whether guilty, or otherwiſe, I cannot tell; certainly ſhe was treated as a criminal [c]. As they were letting her down into the cavern, her robe happened to catch hold of ſomething, that hindered her deſcent; upon which ſhe turned about, and diſentangled it; and when the executioner would have aſſiſted her with his hand, ſhe drew herſelf back with horror; refuſing to be touched by him, as a defilement to her pure and unſpotted chaſtity: ſtill preſerving the appearance of ſanctity to the laſt moment; and, among all the other inſtances of her modeſty,

She took great care to fall with decency [d].

Beſides, CELER, the Roman knight, who was accuſed of having had criminal converſation with her, while they were ſcourging him with rods in the forum, perſiſted in this cry, "What crime have I committed? I

[c] Here the *Quarto* edition of PLINY's Epiſtles differ from all the reſt. The words, according to LONGOLIUS, are, *Certe tanquam innocens ducta eſt*; which the editor explains by ſaying, The people looked upon her as innocent. But the word *nocens* (which I have followed, according to the *Variorum*, the *Oxford*, and the other editions) ſeems more agreeable to the tenor of the epiſtle. "Whether ſhe was innocent, or otherwiſe, (ſays PLINY) I ſhall "not determine: certainly ſhe was treated as guilty."

[d] A verſe in the *Hecuba* of EURIPIDES, Line 567.

"have

" have committed none." So that DOMITIAN, being in the utmoſt rage at lying under the infamy of ſo much cruelty and injuſtice, ſeizes LICINIANUS for having concealed, in one of his farms, a freed-woman belonging to CORNELIA. He was adviſed by thoſe, to whoſe cuſtody he was committed, if he had a mind to eſcape puniſhment, to confeſs the fact, as a certain means of obtaining pardon. He did ſo. HERENNIUS SENECIO ſpoke for him, in his abſence, much in the words of HOMER,

PATROCLUS is fallen [c]!

for he ſaid, " Inſtead of an advocate, I am become " a meſſenger of news. LICINIANUS has withdrawn " himſelf." This was ſo very agreeable to DOMITIAN, that he could not forbear diſcovering publicly his joy, and ſaying, " LICINIANUS has cleared us." He added alſo, that the criminal ought not to be too much oppreſſed, ſince he has owned his guilt; and he allowed him to convey away all of his effects, which he could get together, before they were confiſcated; and, as a reward, allotted him a commodious place of exile; from whence, by the clemency of the emperor NERVA, he was afterwards removed into *Sicily*, where he now has ſet up a ſchool, and takes revenge upon fortune by his declamations.

You ſee how readily I obey you, in ſending you not only the city news, but all that comes from abroad; and ſo minutely, as to trace every incident from its beginning: And indeed I imagined, as you were abſent at that time, you might have heard nothing more of LICINIANUS, than that he was baniſhed for inceſt; for report acquaints us only with the ſubſtance of things, without particulars. I deſerve, in my turn, an account from you of every tranſaction

[c] Iliad xviii. ℣. 20.

in your town and neighbourhood, where ſomething remarkable often happens. In ſhort, you may write to me what you pleaſe, provided your letter be as long as mine; for I ſhall not only count the pages, but the lines and ſyllables. Farewell.

OBSERVATIONS.

This epiſtle ſets forth to us one of the many inſtances, ſhocking to human nature, of DOMITIAN's cruelty. SUETONIUS ſays, that the proſecution of CORNELIA was revived by that emperor a conſiderable time after ſhe had been tried and acquitted. His words are, CORNELIAM *virginem maximam abſolutam olim dehinc longo intervallo repetitam atque convictam defodi imperavit*[f]: "He ordered CORNELIA, the "chief of the veſtals, formerly acquitted, and afterwards "brought forth and convicted, to be buried alive." This circumſtance, although omitted by PLINY, becauſe the epiſtle is, probably, written to a perſon well acquainted with that particular, renders the proſecution more ſanguinary, and heightens the Veſtal's diſtreſs: for ſurely it was unfortunate, to have eſcaped a NERO, only to fall by a DOMITIAN.

Abſentem inauditamque damnavit inceſti: "Abſent and "unheard as ſhe was, he condemned her of inceſt." By what law, or by what precedent, the tyrant proceeded in the condemnation of CORNELIA, does not appear. *Licentia domini* ſeems to have been the rule of his government. But, in the time of NERO, we find, that the *Romans* were particularly cautious of putting any perſon to death, without ſufficient proof and a full hearing. Οὐκ ἔστιν ἔθος Ῥωμαίοις χαρίζεσθαί τινα ἄνθρωπον εἰς ἀπώλειαν, πρὶν ἢ ὁ κατηγορούμενος κατὰ πρόσωπον ἔχοι τοὺς κατηγόρους, τόπον τε ἀπολογίας λάβοι περὶ τοῦ ἐγκλήματος[g]. We may learn

[f] SUETON. *Domitian.* cap. 8. Here the lady is called CORNELIAM MAXIMAM. TACITUS tells us, ſhe was of the *Coſſian* family: CORNELIA *ex familiâ Coſſorum.* TACIT. Annal. 15.

[g] Acts, chap. XXV. ver. 16. *It is not the manner of the* Romans, *to deliver any man to die before that he, which is accuſed, have the accuſers face to face, and have licence to anſwer for himſelf, concerning the crime laid againſt him.*

from

from hence, by what large ſtrides tyranny makes its way to uncontrollable power. In the reign of NERO ſome kind of juſtice was ſtill preſerved. Accuſers, although falſe, were brought before the accuſed, who had leave to ſpeak and to defend themſelves, with all their force of eloquence, or of innocence. But in the reign of DOMITIAN, even the parade of equity diſappeared, the ſhadow of juſtice vaniſhed, and the footſteps of decency and humanity were obliterated, and ſunk into deſtruction.

Blandiens hæc, an irridens, dubium eſt: "It is doubtful, "whether ſhe ſaid this to ſooth, or to deride." The ſuppoſition of PLINY, that the words of CORNELIA were ſpoke in a flattering, or in a deriding manner, does not ſeem perfectly well grounded. Flattery and jeſting were equally unſeaſonable at ſuch a time; nor does the ſentence import any thing more, than what is likely to have fallen from a perſon in her circumſtances. It is a ſolemn proteſtation of her innocence, and an appeal to heaven for the truth of her aſſertion. The gods had crowned her vows with ſucceſs, and given CÆSAR a victorious triumph. "Can it be imagined, "ſays ſhe, that the all-righteous deities would have heard "my prayers, if I had performed the ſacred rites with in-"ceſtuous hands?" This appears to be the genuine ſenſe of CORNELIA's ſpeech; and the inference, that ſhe endeavours to draw of her own virtue, is extremely natural and unaffected. Her behaviour at the concluding ſcene of her life is great and decent. Her abhorrence of the touch of the executioner, and her care to gather her robe round her, and to die with the modeſty ſhe had lived, is highly becoming the character of a Veſtal virgin. The ſubject matter of the whole epiſtle is extremely curious, and, at the ſame time that it moves our pity towards CORNELIA, it raiſes our indignation againſt DOMITIAN.

EPISTLE XII.

PLINY *to* ARRIANUS.

YOU love EGNATIUS MARCELLINUS, and often commend him to me. You will love and commend him more, when you know what he has lately done. When he went queſtor to his province, the

ſecretary, who was allotted him, dying before the time that his ſalary became due, MARCELLINUS was of opinion, and thought it juſt, that the money, which he had taken to pay that ſecretary, ought not to remain in his hands. On his return, therefore, he firſt applied to the emperor, and afterwards, by the emperor's command, conſulted the ſenate, how he ſhould diſpoſe of the ſalary. It was a queſtion of little conſequence, but ſtill it was a queſtion. The heirs of the ſecretary claimed it for themſelves; the treaſurers, for the exchequer. The cauſe was pleaded. The advocate for the heirs argued firſt; then the advocate for the people: both extremely well. CÆCILIUS STRABO was of opinion, that it ſhould be paid into the treaſury; BÆBIUS MACER, that it ſhould be given to the heirs. STRABO prevailed.

Give MARCELLINUS his juſt praiſe, as I did, without heſitation. For although it has been amply ſufficient for him, to find his action approved by the emperor and the ſenate, yet he will be much rejoiced to have your commendation. All thoſe, who court glory and fame, are wonderfully delighted with the approbation, and praiſes, even of the leſſer degrees of men: but MARCELLINUS reveres you in ſuch a manner, that he will receive the higheſt ſatisfaction from your judgement. To this we may add, that if he knew, an account of his behaviour had travelled ſo far, he muſt neceſſarily be elated at the reach, ſwiftneſs, and progreſs of his fame. For, I know not the reaſon, the extent of their reputation pleaſes men more than even the real greatneſs of it. Farewell.

OBSERVATIONS.

The love of detraction is ſo general, I had almoſt ſaid, ſo faſhionable a vice, that we are really ſurprized to meet with a diſpoſition entirely averſe to envy and malevolence. This twelfth epiſtle is an example of that particular ſpecies of

of good-nature, which takes pleaſure in praiſing every thing that has the leaſt appearance of virtue: for ſurely our author muſt have felt great delight in ſetting off to advantage all good actions, when he commends MARCELLINUS for not keeping a ſum of money, to which he had no ſort of pretence. If he had kept it, he might probably have been puniſhed for embezzling the public treaſures. It is not impoſſible, that, at the time when this epiſtle was written, the queſtors, and other officers in power, who had opportunities of engroſſing the public money, and converting it to their own uſe, generally yielded to the temptation, whenever it fell in their way. PLINY, therefore, thinks MARCELLINUS ought to receive encomiums, as he is diſtinguiſhed, even by a negative virtue, from the iniquitous herd. But although an abſtinence from evil has ſome reſemblance to virtue, yet it is only the reſemblance of a ghoſt to a body; an airy likeneſs without any ſolidity; the ſhadow without the ſubſtance.

The public officers, ſuch as the *ædiles*, *prætors*, and *quæſtors*, had each of them a ſecretary, who, during the time he exerciſed the profeſſion of a ſcribe, was not permitted to the management of any employment in the ſtate. It appears from this letter, that theſe ſcribes were paid at ſtated times of the year, and if they died before the day of payment, nothing could be demanded. The ſame is the caſe of our officers, who have yearly ſalaries; and with all other annuitants, where the payments are on any fixed days. But it would have been a much more laudable action in EGNATIUS, if he had made up to the heirs of the ſecretary the loſs, they ſuſtained by the ſenate's decree. And certainly it would have been no more than common equity in that venerable body, to have allowed to the repreſentatives of this man, even to a day, the wages he had earned by his labour. From the whole tenor of PLINY's conduct, we need be under no difficulty to determine, in what manner he would have acted in ſuch circumſtances.

EPISTLE XIII.

PLINY *to* CORNELIUS TACITUS.

I Am extremely glad to hear you are come ſafe to town. Your arrival, though always deſirable, is at this time more particularly welcome. I ſhall ſtill ſtay ſome few days in *Tuſculum*, that I may finiſh a ſmall work [h] which I have in hand; for I am afraid, if I ſhould now break off my purſuit, juſt when I have brought it near an end, I ſhould find a difficulty in taking it up again. In the mean while, that I may loſe no time, I write this precurſory letter, to intimate a requeſt, which I muſt urge perſonally when we meet. But firſt hear the reaſon of my aſking, and then what it is I aſk.

When I was laſt in my own country [i], a ſon [k] of one of my fellow citizens came to ſee me. I aſked him, "*Do you ſtudy?*" He anſwered, "*Yes:*" "*Where?*" "*At Mediolanum* [l]*:*" "*Why not here?*" To which his father anſwered, (for his father was with him, and had introduced the youth to me) "*Becauſe we have no preceptors here.*" "*Why have* "*you not? for it much concerns you who are fathers,*" (and many parents happened luckily to be preſent) "*to have your ſons educated here, preferably to any* "*other place. For where can they reſide more to their* "*ſatisfaction, than in their native country? Where can* "*they be bred up more virtuouſly, than under the eye* "*of their parents? or with leſs expence, than at home?* "*Upon what eaſy conditions might you have preceptors*

[h] A temple at *Tifernum Tiberinum*. See Epiſtle the firſt of this book.

[i] Comum

[k] Municipis mei filius *Prætextatus*. A youth wearing the gown, called *Prætexta*; a veſt, edged with a purple border, worn till about the age of fifteen. The word *Prætextatus* cannot well be rendered into Engliſh.

[l] Milan.

"*brought*

" *brought hither? What a ſmall additional expence muſt*
" *you be at, above what it already coſts you in your*
" *childrens lodgings, diet, and other neceſſaries, which*
" *are now all bought abroad? For my part, I, who*
" *have no children, but conſider my country as my child*
" *or my parent, am ready to contribute a third part of*
" *the ſum, which you ſhall think proper to eſtabliſh*
" *upon this occaſion. I would even promiſe to be at the*
" *whole expence, did I not fear that ſuch a donation*
" *might be corrupted, and made to ſerve private intereſts:*
" *Which I ſee happen in many places, where preceptors*
" *are choſen by the public. There is but this one remedy*
" *to obviate the evil. If the right of choice be left en-*
" *tirely to the parents, their care, in that choice, will*
" *be ſtill augmented, by the neceſſity they are under of*
" *contributing towards it: For thoſe, who perhaps*
" *would be negligent in other people's expences, will cer-*
" *tainly be careful in their own: and will uſe their ut-*
" *moſt endeavours, that the perſon, who is to receive*
" *his ſalary from me, ſhall be worthy of it, becauſe their*
" *own ſhare is likewiſe to be paid. Therefore conſult,*
" *and come to ſome determination among yourſelves, and*
" *let my example inſpire you, and be aſſured, that the*
" *larger my part of the contribution ſhall be, the better*
" *I ſhall be pleaſed. You can do nothing more honour-*
" *able for your children; nothing more grateful to your*
" *country. Let thoſe, who are born here, be educated*
" *here; that from their infancy they may love their na-*
" *tive ſoil, by living in it. And I wiſh you could*
" *draw hither ſuch eminent maſters, as ſhould make*
" *the ſtudies here ſought after by neighbouring cities;*
" *ſo that, as your children are now ſent to other places,*
" *other people's children may, hereafter, reſort to this.*"

I thought it neceſſary to repeat this converſation circumſtantially, and from the beginning; that you may the better judge how grateful it would be to me, if you will undertake what I enjoin. For the importance of the affair makes me both enjoin, and entreat

entreat you, that out of the numerous concourſe of learned men, who aſſemble about you, from an admiration of your great abilities, you would look out ſome maſters worth ſolliciting: With this reſerve however, that I ſhall not be tied down to any particular man: for I leave the parents at full liberty: let them judge; let them chuſe; I lay claim to nothing but the care and expence. Therefore if one ſhould be found, who relies on his own genius, ſufficiently for the taſk, let him go thither, under this reſtriction, that he builds upon no certainty, but his own abilities. Farewell.

OBSERVATIONS.

This epiſtle requires no annotations; the ſubject matter of it, the noble gift intended, and the unaffected munificence of the donor, are all evident, and muſt ſtand confeſſed to every eye. Comments would rather eclipſe, than augment their glory. The generous reader will ſhew his admiration of PLINY, by imitating the noble example: but *the miſer* will ſtill remain *the miſer*, in ſpite of PLINY, or any other author whatever.

The eighth epiſtle of the firſt book ought to have been placed ſubſequent to this letter. PLINY there tells POMPEIUS SATURNINUS, "*that he has given a library to the citi-*" *zens of* Comum:" And it is not to be ſuppoſed he gave a library to that city, till he had eſtabliſhed ſtudents there to enjoy it.

EPISTLE XIV.

PLINY *to* PATERNUS.

ACCORDING to cuſtom, you will probably deſire and expect ſome of my performances at the bar: but inſtead of them, I ſend you ſome of my moſt ludicrous pieces, a ſort of rare and foreign curioſities. You will receive with this letter ſome

hendeca-

[m] *hendecaſyllable* verſes; the amuſements of my leiſure hours, whilſt I was riding in my chariot, or was bathing, or at table. In theſe appear my ſports, my paſtimes, my loves, my griefs, my complaints, my anger; deſcribed ſometimes in an humbler, ſometimes in a loftier ſtrain, and, by the variety, I endeavour, that ſome of them ſhould be reliſhable to one taſte, ſome to another: ſome, perhaps, may pleaſe all. But if any of them ſeem too light and airy, a man of your reading will eaſily recollect, that the greateſt, and graveſt authors, who have written in this way, have not only made choice of wanton ſubjects, but have been very plain and open in their expreſſions. A liberty, of which I have abridged myſelf, not out of greater gravity, (for where ſhould I have it?) but becauſe I am more timorous than they were. Otherwiſe I am ſenſible, that the rule laid down by CATULLUS, concerning theſe little performances, is a very juſt one.

Chaſte as a veſtal, let your poet be,
But not a foe to mirth and gaiety:
Some luſcious turns, which proſe will not permit,
May pleaſe in verſe, and only paſs for wit.

How much I value your judgement, you may learn from hence, that I had rather you would give a ſtrict examination to all theſe performances together, than only to ſelect ſome few among them for applauſe. And indeed, pieces, written in the utmoſt exactneſs, ceaſe to appear ſo, when compared with others, that are as good. Beſides, a critic of ſenſe and knowledge ought not to compare works of a different nature with each other; but to examine

[m] So called from their meaſure, conſiſting of eleven ſyllables. The *Leſbian* ſparrow, by CATULLUS, is in that metre.

Paſtor deliciæ meæ puellæ.

every

every piece by itſelf; and not judge unfavourably of any performance, if it be perfect in its kind. But why ſhould I ſay more? For, to excuſe or to commend trifles, by a long preface, is ſtill more trifling. Of one thing however it ſeems neceſſary to advertiſe you; I intend to entitle theſe worthleſs toys, *Hendecaſyllables*: a title, which has reference only to the metre. So that you may call them epigrams, or idylls, or eclogues, or, as many will, little poems, or whatever elſe you pleaſe: I only offer you *hendecaſyllable* verſes. I muſt entreat, from your ſincerity, that you would ſpeak your judgement as freely to me upon my book, as you would expreſs it to others; nor is there any difficulty in what I deſire: for if this were the beſt, or the only work, that I have given to the public, it might ſeem too harſh, perhaps, to ſay, "ſeek out ſome other employment;" but it is very conſiſtent with good nature and good breeding to ſay, "you have a brighter ſphere to "ſhine in." Adieu.

OBSERVATIONS.

PLINY ſtands in great need of an excuſe for employing his time in the manner mentioned to PATERNUS. It is very diſtaſteful to ſee a man of ſenſe, and gravity, taking delight in trifles, that tend rather to vitiate, than to amuſe the mind. And indeed, PLINY ſeems ſuſpicious, at the latter end of this epiſtle, that his friend PATERNUS will ſcarce approve of ſuch very looſe and idle performances, as are now offered to his peruſal.

Ego tantum hendecaſyllabos præſto: "I only lay before you "hendecaſyllables." SCALIGER, in his deſcription of that ſpecies of poetry diſtinguiſhed by the name of *Hendecaſyllabi*, concludes by ſaying; *Laſcivi enim maximè omnium ſunt. Quibus igitur omnia canere liceret. Omnibus quoque modis & poſſe, & dicere judicarunt:* "They are the moſt laſcivious of any "ſpecies of poetry. In them, the poet has a licenſe to ſing "all kinds of ſubjects. And no manner of ſtyle were thought "indecent or improper."

The

The natural turn of PLINY's genius ſeems to have been fitted for works of ſerioufneſs and importance. His cotemporaries were of the ſame opinion; as we may learn from a letter to CAPITO, which we ſhall ſee hereafter, and which begins, *Suades, ut hiſtoriam ſcribam, & ſuades non ſolus: Multi hoc me ſæpe monuerunt*[n]: "You perſuade me to undertake a hiſtory: nor is your advice ſingle: many of my friends encourage me in the ſame attempt." The *Minutiæ* of the moſt decent poetry were not the proper amuſements of an hiſtorian, whoſe leiſure hours ought to be employed upon ſolid, and ſublime ſubjects, in every kind. Nor ought PLINY to have deſcended ſo low, as to imitate the epigrammatic turns of CATULLUS, when his emulation had raiſed him to aim at the oratorical ſtyle of CICERO.

This epiſtle is an inſtance, that it is as abſolutely neceſſary for us, to be as wary and conſiderate in our choice of proper amuſements, as of proper ſtudies.

[n] Lib. v. Ep. 8.

EPISTLE XV.

PLINY *to* MINUTIUS FUNDANUS.

IF I am governed by judgement in any one particular, it is in the ſingular affection I bear ASINIUS RUFUS. He is a moſt extraordinary man: and a great lover of all good men: for, why may I not number myſelf among thoſe, who are good? He is alſo intimately acquainted with CORNELIUS TACITUS; whoſe great character you know. If, therefore, both of us are in your favour, you muſt neceſſarily entertain the ſame ſentiments of RUFUS as of us; ſince likeneſs of manners is the ſtrongeſt cement of friendſhips. He hath many children: for, even in this reſpect, he has diſcharged the duty of a good citizen; and, was by no means unwilling to have his wife prolific, even in an age, when a ſingle child, (ſuch are the advantages of being childleſs) is thought a burthen. But he has deſpiſed theſe faſhions, and is become

become a grandfather. His grandchildren are by SATURIUS FIRMUS; whom you will love, as I do, when you come to look nearer into him. Theſe particulars are not impertinent: as they tend to inform you how extenſive, and how numerous a family, you may oblige by a ſingle favour. Which I am induced to aſk, firſt, by my wiſhes, next, by the certainty of a good omen.

I rejoice, and foreſee, that you will be conſul next year; for ſo your virtues, and the judgement of the emperor lead me to propheſy. It would concur extremely well, if ASINIUS BASSUS, the eldeſt ſon of RUFUS, were queſtor the ſame year: A young man, (I know not whether I ſhould ſay, what the father deſires me to think, and ſay, but the modeſty of the ſon forbids) preferable even to his father. Although I never fail to find credit with you in every thing, yet it is difficult to believe me concerning an abſent perſon, that he has ſo much induſtry, probity, learning, genius, application, and memory, as you will find in him upon trial.

I wiſh, our age was ſo productive of men of good qualities, that ſome might be found, whom you ought to prefer to BASSUS. Let me then, firſt, perſuade and adviſe you, to examine carefully, and to be long in conſidering, the perſon you ſhould chuſe.

But I will boaſt no more of my friend: I will only ſay, that he is a young man, worthy to be adopted by you; after the manner of our anceſtors; in the place of a ſon. For wiſe men, like you, ought to receive children from the commonwealth; ſuch, as we wiſh to receive from nature.

It will be honourable to you, when conſul, to have a queſtor, whoſe father is of the prætorian, and whoſe relations are of conſular dignity; and who, though yet but a youth, is, in their judgement, an honour to their family. Therefore indulge my deſires, follow my advice; and above all things pardon

don me, if I ſeem too forward. Firſt, becauſe every man's love generally outruns his wiſhes; and next, becauſe in a city, where all things are carried on by the earlineſs of the application, thoſe, who wait for the proper time of ſolliciting, come too late: laſtly, the preſumption of obtaining what we deſire gives us great pleaſure. Let BASSUS revere you, as conſul: and let him be regarded by you, as queſtor: and thus permit me, who have a moſt ſincere affection for you both, to enjoy a double ſatisfaction: for as you and BASSUS are ſo equally dear to me, that I ſhall employ all the power, induſtry, and intereſt I have, in promoting him to whomſoever he happens to be queſtor; and likewiſe in aſſiſting your queſtor, whoever he ſhall be; ſo ſhall I have great joy, if my endeavours, and both the ſtrength of my friendſhip, and your conſulſhip, ſhould all unite in ſerving the ſame young man; eſpecially if my entreaties ſhall obtain your aſſiſtance for him: you, to whoſe vote the ſenate will moſt willingly acquieſce; and to whoſe teſtimony they will give the greateſt credit. Farewell.

OBSERVATIONS.

It appears from this letter to FUNDANUS, that the conſul elect uſually named his queſtor, and the ſenate approved, or diſapproved his choice. But there is a ſentence in the epiſtle, ſo extremely dark and intricate, that it is very difficult to ſtrike out the leaſt light from it; or to gueſs what gave riſe to ſuch an aſſertion.

PLINY, among other commendations of ASINIUS RUFUS, ſays, "that he took pleaſure in finding himſelf the "father of a numerous offſpring, although the age he lived "in gave rewards to thoſe who had no children; and "therefore, even one ſon only was looked upon as a bur-"then °."

° Fœcunditate uxoris largè frui voluit, eo ſeculo, quo pleri-que etiam ſingulos filios orbitatis præmia graves faciunt.

The

The *Præmia orbitatis* are ſo contrary to all the known maxims of the *Romans*, in their moſt abandoned times, that it is ſcarce poſſible to ſurmiſe, what our author hints at in this particular.

In all the traces of antiquity, we ſhall conſtantly find, that the antients paid great regard to matrimony, and great honours to prolific perſons. The *jus trium liberorum*, (privileges granted to the fathers of three children) has been already touched upon [p]. And, if I miſtake not, there were laws made to compel, or at leaſt to encourage perſons to marry. KENNET, in his *Roman Antiquities*, tells us, it was uſual for the cenſors to lay a fine on old batchelors; and DIONYSIUS HALICARNASSEUS mentions an old conſtitution, by which all perſons of full age were obliged to marry. But the firſt law of certainty, among the *Romans*, was made by AUGUSTUS [q], in the year of *Rome* ſeven hundred and thirty ſix; which law was afterwards improved in the year ſeven hundred and ſixty two; and therein are contained both rewards and puniſhments. The rewards were, that magiſtrates ſhould take place according to the number of their children; and a married man before a batchelor; and in elections, that candidates ſhould be preferred, who had many children; and any perſon might ſtand for a dignity, before the uſual time, if he had as many children as he wanted years of being capable to hold the dignity. And farther, that in the city of *Rome*, whoever had three children, in other parts of *Italy* four, and in the provinces five, ſhould be excuſed from all troubleſome offices in the place where he lived.

The puniſhments were, that unmarried perſons ſhould be incapable of receiving any legacy or inheritance by will, except from near relations. And thoſe who were married, and had not any children, could take no more than half the eſtate.

[p] See obſervations on Ep. 13. Book 2.

[q] HORACE alludes to this law (which he calls the *Lex Marita*) in the *Carmen Seculare*, where he ſays,

Diva producas ſobolem, patrumque
Proſperes decreta ſuper jugandis
Feminis, proliſque novæ feraci,
Lege Maritâ.

With

With ſuch honourable advantages, on behalf of marriage and children, and ſuch remarkable diſadvantages to the unmarried and childleſs, it is hard to unravel PLINY's intention in the place abovementioned. One of the commentators [r] explains the ſentence thus, *Præmia orbitatis*, id eſt, *munera, quæ mittebantur orbis: adeo creverat avaritia, ut patri unicus filius videretur moleſtus, quia ſcilicet per eum privabatur muneribus, quæ dabantur orbis a captatoribus:* "The rewards of ſterility were the gifts ſent to married men, "who had no children. Avarice was now at that height, "that a ſingle child was thought a burden to a father, be"cauſe, from that circumſtance of having a child, he was "deprived of thoſe gifts, which ſycophants were willing to "beſtow." Unleſs the words bear this ſenſe, their purport muſt remain unknown. But to what an immenſe height was the avarice of the *Romans* ariſen, if they could poſſibly think it preferable to die childleſs, for the ſake of receiving preſents and adulation during their life-time, rather than to leave an honeſt, but more moderate fortune to the inheritance of their own children and deſcendants!

The queſtorſhip was the firſt employment any man could bear in the commonwealth. It might be undertaken at twenty four, or twenty five years of age; and being a poſt rather of fatigue, than dignity, was generally beſtowed upon young men. The frequent revolutions in the government occaſioned theſe officers to be multiplied, and divided into various ſorts and denominations: but thoſe under the conſuls were originally called *Quæſtores peregrini*; and afterwards *urbani*. They had the treaſury under their care, and were obliged to keep an exact account of the public expences. The laws, and decrees of the ſenate, were likewiſe committed to their cuſtody: and upon any expedition, they delivered the military enſigns to the conſuls; and expoſed to auction the goods taken from the enemy in battle.

An office of ſo much buſtle and buſineſs, and at the ſame time of ſo great truſt, ought always to have been executed by men of equal character, and capacity, to ASINIUS BASSUS, whoſe birth rather reflected luſtre upon the queſtorſhip, than received any from it. His father was of the prætorian, and his relations of the conſular order. But RUFUS himſelf bore a higher title: The friend and favourite of PLINY.

[r] CATANÆUS.

EPISTLE XVI.

PLINY *to* VALERIUS PAULLINUS.

REJOICE upon my account, rejoice upon your own account, rejoice upon account of the public. Literature is ſtill honoured. When I lately pleaded before the centumviri, there was no room for my approach, except by croſſing the tribunal [s], and paſſing through the judges, all other places were ſo crouded. Add to this, that a young man, finely dreſſed, having had his tunic [t] torn, which often happens in a croud, ſtood, with only his gown thrown over him, no leſs than ſeven hours together; for ſo long my pleading continued, not without greater advantage than fatigue. Let us, therefore, apply ourſelves to our ſtudies; and let not the idleneſs of other people be a pretence for our own. There are thoſe who will both hear and read; provided we take pains to prepare ſomething worth being heard, or read. Farewell.

OBSERVATIONS.

PLINY has ſufficient reaſon to be as much elated as he appears by this epiſtle, if his audience paid a ſtrict attention to what he ſaid for ſeven hours together. The beau continuing one of his hearers, after the misfortune of the tunic, is certainly a ſtrong circumſtance in his favour. The eloquence muſt be very powerful, that could confine a man of dreſs, and parade; and could ſoften thoſe paſſions, which muſt infallibly ariſe, when his finery was not only diſcompoſed, but torn to pieces. I am afraid, however, that PLINY flatters himſelf upon the occaſion: and I am

[s] The tribunal was a raiſed ſeat where the prætor ſat: the judges were placed on each ſide a little below him.

[t] The tunic was a veſt worn under the toga. Perſons of high parade wore them with ſleeves.

apt

apt to think, the young gentleman was not detained by inclination, but by neceſſity; the concourſe of people was too great to let him ſtir; he was not only hemmed in, but ſo cloſely pinioned, as to be deprived of all the gracefulneſs of motion; nor came he, either with hopes to hear, or inclination to underſtand, the eloquence of the orator, but merely induced by idle curioſity, and the natural tendency, which all beaux have to public places.

EPISTLE XVII.

PLINY *to* GALLUS.

YOU both adviſe, and entreat me, to undertake, in her abſence, the cauſe of CORELLIA, againſt C. CÆCILIUS, conſul elect. I am thankful for your advice, but I have reaſon to complain of your requeſt. I ought to be adviſed, in order to be informed, but I need not be entreated to do, what would be moſt baſe in me to omit. Can I doubt a moment, whether I ought to defend the daughter of CORELLIUS [u]? It is true, I have no abſolute intimacy, but yet I have a friendſhip with the very man, againſt whom you deſire me to be an advocate: and we may add alſo, the dignity of that man, and the honour, to which he is elected: an honour, that I hold in the greater reverence, as I myſelf have lately filled that employment. For, it is natural to wiſh, that thoſe dignities, which we have enjoyed, ſhould be held in the higheſt eſteem. But, all theſe arguments appear cold and trifling to me, when I reflect, that I am to aſſiſt the daughter of CORELLIUS. Methinks I have him preſent to my imagination: he was a man, ſecond to none, in this our age, in dignity, in piety, or in quickneſs of judgement: he was a man, whom I firſt began to love from admiration, and what ſeldom hap-

[u] CORELLIUS RUFUS, whoſe character is drawn by PLINY, in the 12th Epiſtle of the 1ſt Book.

pens, whom I loved the better, as my knowledge of him encreaſed. For I knew him thoroughly, he kept nothing ſecret from me; neither his chearful, his ſerious, his ſorrowful, nor his joyful thoughts. I was but a youth, when he honoured, and even (I will dare to ſay it) reverenced me as his equal. In my aſpiring to honours, he was my abettor [w], and my witneſs; in my commencement of them, he was my leader and companion: and in my execution of them, he was my adviſer and director. In ſhort, though weak and old, he appeared vigorous and young, in all matters which nearly concerned me. Ah! how immenſely did he raiſe my reputation at home, in public, and eſpecially with the emperor! For when it once happened, that the diſcourſe before the emperor NERVA turned upon excellent young men, and many favoured me with particular praiſes; he, for ſome little time, kept ſilence, which added to his authority; and then, with a majeſtic gravity, which I am ſure you remember, he ſaid, "*I ought* "*to be very ſparing in my praiſes of* SECUNDUS, *becauſe* "*he does nothing without my advice.*" Thus did he freely give me, what it would have been unreaſonable in me to wiſh or expect, the character of doing every thing in the wiſeſt manner, becauſe I did nothing without the advice of the wiſeſt man. Nay even when he was dying, he ſaid to his daughter, (as ſhe has often declared) "*I have provided for you many* "*friends in your future life, but the chief of thoſe friends* "*are* SECUNDUS *and* CORNUTUS." Which, while I remember, I think it my duty to take the utmoſt pains in compleatly anſwering the confidence repoſed in me, by ſuch an excellent judge of men. For this reaſon, I will moſt readily aſſiſt CORELLIA, even at the peril of expoſing myſelf to any reſentments: al-

[w] *In petendis honoribus ſuffragator, & teſtis:* "The ſuffragator "was the friend, who ſolicited and procured votes in favour of "the candidate."

though

though I think, I ſhall not only obtain pardon, but approbation from the perſon, who, as you ſay, intends to commence this new ſuit, (poſſibly becauſe he has the advantage of oppoſing a woman) if I ſhould have the good fortune to explain, in my pleading, either for my excuſe, or perhaps even my commendation, the ſeveral motives here hinted to you, in a more ample and copious manner, than the narrow limits of a letter will permit. Farewell.

OBSERVATIONS.

In preceding epiſtles, we have ſeen inſtances of PLINY's goodneſs, juſtice, generoſity, and candour: in this, we have a view of another quality, equally valuable, his gratitude. He appears great in every virtue; and leads the way in every excellence and duty. He is ſo jealous of his honour, and ſo conſcious of his own integrity, that he thinks his friend GALLUS uſes him ill, in imagining, that he wants the leaſt ſpur, to undertake the cauſe of CORELLIA; a lady, whoſe father, CORELLIUS RUFUS, is lamented moſt pathetically by PLINY, in an [x] epiſtle to CALESTRIUS TYRO. *Quod evenire contrà ſolet, magis admiratus ſum poſtquam penitus inſpexi:* "It often happens, that the more we ſee "into a man, the leſs we admire him." The generality of mankind will not bear to be viewed too cloſely, or too often: they loſe their value upon a nearer approach; which made the honeſt countryman ſay to his friend, who was boaſting of a legacy, beſtowed upon him by a perſon, into whoſe company he had accidentally fallen only once in his life, "*Ah*, JONATHAN, *if he had ſeen thee twice, he would* "*not have left thee a farthing.*"

[x] Book I. Ep. 12. CORELLIUS killed himſelf to avoid the agonizing pains of the gout. Under ſuch tortures, ſuicide, in a heathen, may perhaps carry with it ſome ſhadow of excuſe; ſince, in truth, they put Chriſtian fortitude to as ſevere a trial as can well be endured.

EPISTLE XVIII.

PLINY *to* M. ARRIUS ANTONINUS.

HOW can I better convince you of my approbation, or what ſtronger proof can I give, that I admire your *Greek* epigrams, than by endeavouring to imitate, and turn ſome of them into *Latin?* Much indeed to their advantage, occaſioned chiefly by my own inability; and next, by the want, or rather, as LUCRETIUS expreſſes it, the poverty of our native tongue. But if theſe, which are in *Latin*, and are mine, carry with them the appearance of ſome beauty; imagine what infinite graces muſt be contained in thoſe, which are yours, and publiſhed in *Greek*. Farewell.

OBSERVATIONS.

It has been already obſerved [y], that there are three epiſtles from PLINY to ANTONINUS; two in this book, and one in the fifth, all upon the ſame ſubject, but ſcattered, and diſperſed as uſual. The commentators have been no leſs cruel to PLINY, than MEDEA was to ABSYRTUS [z]: they firſt murder him; then, to prevent too ſtrict an enquiry after his murderers, they ſtrew his limbs in different places; and leave every paſſenger to gather them up, either as his leiſure or inclination permits. Theſe lines in LUCRETIUS,

> *Nunc & ANAXAGORÆ ſcrutemur* Homœomeriam,
> *Quam* Græci *memorant, nec noſtrâ dicere linguâ*
> *Concedit nobis patrii ſermonis egeſtas* [a];

confirm our author's complaint of the poverty of the Latin tongue; and the verſion of them is almoſt as ſtrong an inſtance, as can be given, how far an original may ſink in a tranſlation.

[y] See the notes on epiſtle the third.
[z] Her brother.
[a] LUCRET. lib. 1. ℣. 830.

Next

Next let's examine with a curious eye,
ANAXAGORAS's philoſophy;
By copious *Greece*, term'd *Homœomery*.
For which our *Latin* language, poor in words,
Not one expreſſive ſingle voice affords [b].

In ſo long, and ſo laborious a performance, as the tranſlation of LUCRETIUS, we may alledge, in defence of our learned countryman, Mr. CREECH, that a tranſlator is not totally inexcuſable, if he ſometimes indulges himſelf in a ſmall neglect, or ſnatches up the eaſieſt rhyme that occurs, where the paſſage is of no greater conſequence, than what has been juſt now quoted: perhaps too he may deſignedly withdraw himſelf behind a cloud, in order to come forth with new glory, and a freſh reinforcement of ſplendor: But in epigrams, and works of that kind, the thoughts, the turn, and the manner, muſt be preſerved, and expreſſed to the utmoſt exactneſs; not the leaſt atom muſt be ſuffered to eſcape, nor the leaſt drop to evaporate; otherwiſe the whole beauty will be loſt in the tranſfuſion.

[b] CREECH's LUCRETIUS, line 841.

EPISTLE XIX.

PLINY *to* HISPULLA.

AS you are an example of all virtue, and as you loved your excellent and moſt affectionate brother with a mutual tenderneſs, and look upon his daughter as your own; not only treating her with the indulgence of an aunt, but ſupplying to her the loſs ſhe long ſince ſuſtained in a father; I cannot doubt, but you will be much rejoiced to know, that ſhe proves worthy of her father; worthy of you; worthy of her grandfather.

She has great wit; ſhe is an excellent œconomiſt; ſhe loves me entirely; a ſure ſignal of her chaſtity. Add to this, her diſpoſition to literature; which is

the conſequence of her affection towards me. She has collected my works; ſhe reads; and even gets them by heart. When I am to plead, what infinite anxiety does ſhe ſuffer! When I have done, how great is her joy! She appoints perſons, on purpoſe to tell her what applauſes, what acclamations I have gained; and what judgement is pronounced. When I rehearſe in public, ſhe places herſelf as near as poſſible; and ſits under the covert of a veil, and hears with the greateſt ſatisfaction the praiſes which are beſtowed upon me. She ſings my verſes, and adapts them to the lute; untaught by any muſician, but that beſt of maſters, love.

From hence I hope, with the utmoſt degree of certainty, that our happineſs will be perpetual; and will encreaſe every day. For in me ſhe is neither captivated with youth, nor perſon; both which are liable to accidents and decay; but with the glory of my name. Nor would other thoughts become one, who had been faſhioned by your hands, inſtructed by your precepts. Under your roof ſhe beheld nothing but purity and virtue; and in ſhort, was taught to love me by your recommendation. For as you uſed to love my mother as your parent, ſo were you pleaſed to praiſe and model me, in the infancy of my life; and to foretel I ſhould one day prove to be ſuch a man, as my wife imagines me to be at this moment.

We mutually contend therefore to give you thanks; I, becauſe you have given her to me; ſhe, becauſe you have given me to her. You have choſen us out, as it were, formed for each other. Farewell.

OBSERVATIONS.

This is a moſt choice epiſtle. Few and delicate have been the examples of ſuch conjugal love. Men cannot, or will not ſee the perfections of their wives. From the day of marriage, the woman generally lays aſide her reſerve; and the

the man his civility. She grows forward in her looks, and overbearing in her converſation: he becomes ſour in his countenance, and ſnappiſh in his diſcourſe. Or if they appear fond (as from the novelty of the ſtate it ſometimes happens) the groſſneſs of the paſſion is too nauſeous to be named.

Love and tenderneſs are ſacred to the hours of privacy and retirement; and therefore, when CALPURNIA went to hear her huſband's public lectures, ſhe put on a veil. Under that cover ſhe kept her looks concealed; and her ears attentively liſtened to the praiſes he acquired; without diſcovering, by bluſhes of joy, the pleaſure which thoſe praiſes conveyed to her heart.

Her love of literature proceeded wholly from her love of PLINY. She was reſolved to make herſelf a proper and worthy companion for the man, in whoſe company ſhe choſe to live; well knowing, that the endowments of the mind outlaſt the ſplendor of the perſon. She had undoubtedly all the qualifications neceſſary to make a woman lovely and deſirable. She ſung finely, and played upon the lute. So that if this epiſtle was thoroughly conſidered by the fair ſex, where CALPURNIA is deſcribed as endeavouring to encreaſe her judgement, by exerciſing her memory, and improving her taſte, they would ſee an example before their eyes, in what manner they might make themſelves agreeable, in ſpite of that dreadful and irreſiſtible enemy, old age.

EPISTLE XX.

PLINY *to* MAXIMUS.

I Communicated to you my ſentiments upon every one of your particular tracts, as I read them: take now my opinion in general. The work is not only beautiful, but ſolid, pointed, ſublime, diverſified, elegant, neat, full of figures, and of an extent, that redounds much to your honour. In it you ſpread moſt ſpaciouſly the ſails both of your wit, and of your grief: and each of theſe have been reciprocally a help to the other: for your wit added ſublimity and grandeur to your grief; and your grief gave force and ſharpneſs to your wit. Farewell.

OBSER-

OBSERVATIONS.

Throughout this collection of letters, there is ſcarce any man, to whom ſo many epiſtles are addreſſed, as to MAXIMUS. We ſhall find PLINY, in the firſt epiſtle of the ninth book, preſſing MAXIMUS to publiſh his writings againſt PLANTA, (or BLATERA, the ſcholiaſts are not agreed in his name) who had been, when living, the profeſſed enemy of MAXIMUS. But the *opus pulchrum*, mentioned in this epiſtle, though characterized in the higheſt manner, and adorned with the ſtrongeſt epithets, has no particular mark, by which any conjecture may be formed, when, or upon whom, it was written. If ſurmiſes at random are allowable, (and in relation to claſſic authors, we may reaſonably conclude they are) it was a poem on the death of ſome near relation, or ſome beloved friend. *Nam dolori ſublimitatem et magnificentiam ingenium, ingenio vim et amaritudinem dolor addidit.* Verſe is better ſuited to the pathetic eloquence of grief, than proſe. The anguiſh of a heavy heart ſounds harmoniouſly ſorrowful, when uttered in poetry; and the ſincerity of the paſſion adds force and bitterneſs to the woe.

Not like a mortal, muſt the muſe be ſought,
Nor will by falſe appearances be caught.
The heavenly blooming virgin to engage,
Sue her with real grief, or decent rage:
To moving accents the ſoft goddeſs bends,
And melancholy's mournful voice attends,
Makes the ſad heart ſome eaſe in numbers find,
And chears by pow'r of verſe the drooping mind.

EPISTLE XXI.

PLINY *to* VELIUS CEREALIS.

AH! ſad! ah cruel cataſtrophe of the HELVIDIÆ! two ſiſters, each brought to bed of a daughter, both dead in child-bed! I am greatly afflicted, though not immeaſurably grieved. It is, methinks, a melancholy

choly conſideration, that two virtuous young ladies ſhould, by their fruitfulneſs, be ſnatched away in the flower of their youth. I grieve the fate of the infants, who are deprived of their parents, and made motherleſs, as ſoon as born: I grieve, for the ſurviving excellent huſbands: and I grieve likewiſe, on my own account; for, I perſevere in my firm attachment to their father, though he is dead; as by a particular ſpeech, and by ſeveral treatiſes, I have teſtified.

Out of three of his children, there is but one left; one only, to ſupport and ſuſtain that houſe, which had lately ſo many props. But, ſhould fate preſerve him, ſtrong and unſhaken, like his father, and his grandfather, my grief will then be much aſſwaged. But my fears, both for his health, and his morals, are the greater, becauſe he is the laſt of his family. You know the tenderneſs, you know the anxiety of my mind, where I love: and therefore, you will wonder the leſs, that I ſhould fear moſt, where I have the greateſt hopes. Farewell.

OBSERVATIONS.

The ſhort-liv'd young ladies, lamented in this epiſtle, were grandaughters to HELVIDIUS PRISCUS, who was put to death by VESPASIAN, and daughters of HELVIDIUS his ſon, who periſhed on account of his wit, in the reign of DOMITIAN.

HELVIDIUS PRISCUS, the elder, was ſon-in-law to THRASEA PÆTUS, whoſe ſtory has been mentioned in ſome preceding obſervations. TACITUS gives PRISCUS a moſt advantageous character. "He diſtinguiſhed himſelf "very early, ſays that hiſtorian, by his bright and remark-"able genius; and applied his youth entirely to ſtudies, "that might afterwards render him uſeful and ſerviceable "to his country. He ſtrictly adhered to the doctrines of "ſuch as maintain, thoſe things only to be good, which are "juſt and equitable; and thoſe things only to be evil, "which are diſhoneſt. From theſe principles, he looked "upon wealth, power, nobility, and other acquiſitions of

"that

" that kind, as trifles to be neglected and deſpiſed: and " from hence became in time the beſt citizen, ſenator, huſ- " band, ſon-in-law, and friend, that *Rome* ever produced. " He was choſen, and preferred to all others, by THRASEA " PÆTUS, as a huſband for his daughter, when he had " attained no higher employment in the ſtate, than the que- " ſtorſhip. And upon the death of his father-in-law was ex- " iled, as obnoxious to NERO and his minions. In the " reign of GALBA he was recalled, and took his place again " in the ſenate, where he ſignalized himſelf by many ex- " cellent ſpeeches, and ſhewed great gratitude to the me- " mory of his father THRASEA, by impeaching THRA- " SEA's chief accuſer, MARCELLUS." Not to be tempted too far into an account of a *Roman*, whoſe actions and character may be found moſt fully expatiated upon by TACITUS, in the fourth book of his hiſtory; let us look into the circumſtances of his death, as related by SUETONIUS. They are remarkable enough to excuſe the following quotation.

[c] *Non temerè quis punitus inſons reperitur, niſi abſente eo & ignaro, aut certe invito atque decepto.* HELVIDIO PRISCO, *qui reverſum ex* Syria, *ſolus, privato nomine* VESPASIANUM *ſalutaverat, & in prætura omnibus edictis ſine honore ac mentione ulla tranſmiſerat, non ante ſuccenſuit, quam altercationibus inſolentiſſimis penè in ordinem redactus. Hunc quoque, quamvis relegatum primo, deinde & interfici juſſum, magni æſtimavit ſervare quoquo modo, miſſis, qui percuſſores revocarent: & ſervaſſet, niſi jam periiſſe falſo nuntiatum eſſet. Cæterum neque cæde cujuſquam umquam lætatus, juſtis ſuppliciis illacrymavit etiam & ingemuit.*

" In his reign, [VESPASIAN's] ſcarce any innocent " man was puniſhed, unleſs he [the emperor] was abſent, " and knew nothing of it; or it was done againſt his will, " and by deceiving him. HELVIDIUS PRISCUS, who was " the only perſon, who ſaluted him upon his return from " *Syria*, by his private name, VESPASIAN, and who, when " prætor, paſſed him by, in all edicts, without the leaſt " mention or honour, did not feel any effects of his anger, " till for the moſt inſolent provocations imaginable he was " obliged to humble him. And though he firſt baniſhed " him, and afterwards ordered him to be put to death; yet " he ſtill thought it worth while to ſave his life, and ſent

[c] SUETONII VESPASIANUS, cap. 15.

" meſſengers

" meſſengers for that purpoſe to ſtop the executioners; and " would have ſaved him, if he had not been falſely told, " that he was already executed. Nay, he was ſo little " pleaſed at the death of any man whatever, that he even " wept and ſighed for the execution of the moſt guilty."

Here we have had the outlines of VESPASIAN's tender diſpoſition, and at the ſame time a view of a moſt undaunted ſpirit in HELVIDIUS. The love of liberty was ſtill extant among ſome particular *Romans*. PRISCUS was one of thoſe few, who, with the antient notions of freedom, retained an utter abhorrence to tyranny, and, like BRUTUS, would have killed his father to relieve his country.

HELVIDIUS the younger, (father of the HELVIDIÆ SORORES) was the ſon of PRISCUS. His character ſeems eclipſed by the brighter glories of his father: at leaſt hiſtory mentions little relating to him, but the cauſe of his death, of which SUETONIUS gives the following account. *Occidit & HELVIDIUM filium, quod quaſi ſcenico exodio ſub perſonâ PARIDIS & OENONES divortium ſuum cum uxore taxaſſet:* " He (DOMITIAN) likewiſe put to death HELVIDIUS the " younger, becauſe in a farce, under the feigned names of " PARIS and OENONE, he had glanced at the emperor's " divorce from his wife."

We find PLINY ſpeaking of HELVIDIUS in this epiſtle, as a perſon, for whoſe memory he had teſtified great regard. *Nam patrem illarum defunctum quoque perſeverantiſſime diligo, ut actione meâ libriſque teſtatum eſt:* " For I love their de- " ceaſed father with the ſtrongeſt attachment ſtill; as my " pleadings in my book, in honour of him, muſt witneſs." Hence we may infer, that he was a worthy deſcendant of thoſe noble anceſtors, from whom he ſprung. The death of the two young ladies is related in ſo plaintive and ſo moving a manner, with ſuch expreſſions of affectionate anxiety for their relations, and ſuch fears for the welfare and character of their brother, that it is impoſſible not to catch the diſtreſs, and to feel for PLINY that ſympathizing affliction, and thoſe tender ſentiments, of which he is an example. But death makes no diſtinction.

Not virtue's power, nor eloquence, can charm
The king of terrors, or divert his arm:
Alike the object of his fatal rage,
Is generous youth, or venerable age.

With

With ſure deſtruction fraught, his ſhafts he throws,
And breaths contagion whereſoe'er he goes.
Dreaded, uncall'd, he ſtill purſues his courſe,
And urging on his wild impetuous force,
Slays undiſtinguiſh'd ſtateſmen, miſers, hogs,
Popes, monkeys, heroes, emperors, and dogs.

EPISTLE XXII.

PLINY *to* SEMPRONIUS RUFUS.

I Have been taken into council, and have been preſent at the hearing of a certain affair before our emperor. Public games were exhibited among the *Viennenſes*, according to the teſtament of ſome perſon deceaſed. TREBONIUS RUFINUS, a man of great merit, and my particular friend, in his duumvirate, took care to ſtop, and aboliſh theſe entertainments. It was alledged, that he had done this, without any legal authority. He pleaded his own cauſe; not with leſs ſucceſs, than eloquence. It gave a grace to his pleading, that like a *Roman*, and like a good citizen, he ſpoke, in an affair relating to himſelf, with diſcretion and dignity. When the voices in council were aſked, JUNIUS MAURICUS (whoſe firmneſs and veracity cannot be exceeded) declared it as his opinion, that theſe games ought not to be reſtored to the *Viennenſes*. He added, "*I could wiſh they* "*were prohibited even at Rome.*" Spoken, you will ſay, with conſtancy and reſolution: Why not? Such a ſpeech is no novelty from MAURICUS: he ſhewed a reſolution equal to this, before the emperor NERVA; when he and ſome other choice friends ſupped with him in private. VEIENTO was next to the emperor at table, he lay even in his boſom. I have ſaid all, when I have named the man. The diſcourſe turned upon CATULLUS MESSALINUS, who being blind, had that curſe ſuperadded to a cruel diſpoſition. He was void

of

of fear, of ſhame, and of pity; and therefore DOMITIAN made uſe of him the oftner (as we make uſe of darts, which fly without ſight or caution) towards the deſtruction of every good man. All, who were at table, talked in general of the wickedneſs and ſanguinary counſels of this wretch; when the emperor aſked, "*What think ye would he ſuffer, were he now "alive?*" MAURICUS replied, "*He would ſup with "us.*".

I have gone out of my road too far, but willingly. It was agreed that the games ſhould be ſuppreſſed; games, which had infected the manners of the *Viennenſes*, as ours at *Rome* infect all the world. For *Viennenſian* vices remain among themſelves; ours ſpread moſt diffuſively; and as in human bodies, ſo in empire, that diſeaſe is moſt dangerous, which proceeds from the head. Farewell.

OBSERVATIONS.

The reſolute uprightneſs of TREBONIUS RUFINUS, during his duumvirate, and the free anſwer given by JUNIUS MAURICUS, to the emperor NERVA, ought not to be paſſed by unnoticed.

RUFINUS was one of the *duumviri municipales*, at *Vienne* [d], the metropolis of the *Allobroges*; lying upon the river *Rhoſne*. Theſe particular officers (for there were ſeveral ſorts of duumviri) had a power in the free towns, equal to what the conſuls had at *Rome*. They were choſen out of the *decuriones municipales* [e], and were ſworn to ſerve the citizens, of which they were *duumviri*, with truth, juſtice, and fidelity. Their juriſdiction was of great extent; and their employment laſted five years; during which ſpace of time, whilſt TREBONIUS was in office, a certain perſon, whoſe name does not appear, left, by will, a ſum of money to be laid out in public ſhews, for the diverſion and entertainment of the *Viennenſes*. TREBONIUS, who thought that amuſements of this kind led away the people from their proper

[d] A city in *Dauphiny*.

[e] See the obſervations upon Ep. 8. Book 1.

buſineſs,

buſineſs, and put an entire ſtop to induſtry, prohibited, in this particular, the execution of the will; and the *Viennenſes*, highly incenſed at his prohibition, denied that he had any authority to ſuſpend their public diverſions; and they complained of his behaviour to the emperor.

The enquiry into this affair ſeems to have been in the ſame manner, that ſome particular matters of ſtate are enquired into by our kings, and the privy council; with this difference, that the privy counſellors in *England* are nominated and aſcertained by the king himſelf, who ſummons together the whole number whenever he pleaſes: but by the initial ſentence in this epiſtle, *Interfui principis optimi cognitioni, in conſilium aſſumptus*, "I was entruſted with the "emperor's ſentiments, being admitted into his council," it ſeems likely, that the emperors had no fixed and certain privy council, but choſe out ſuch perſons, upon particular occaſions, as they had a mind to conſult.

We have not the leaſt hint of the arguments made uſe of by TREBONIUS, when he pleaded before the emperor. In general, PLINY commends him; not only for ſpeaking with a ſpirit becoming a Roman citizen, but, at the ſame time, with ſuch weight and deliberation, as ſhewed him maſter of himſelf, and free from the paſſions and impetuoſity, that too often hurry men into an unbecoming behaviour, when they attempt to defend their own cauſe. It is a maxim in the civil law, that, *If a yearly eſtate is left to a city, every year in that city a public ſhew ſhould be made there, in memory of the teſtator; which if contrary to the laws of that city, the legacy ought to be converted to ſome other uſe, which is lawful.* It is probable, (eſpecially as the civil law is built upon the Roman law) that TREBONIUS proceeded upon this maxim: he knew the power he had, as *duumvir*, was uncontrolable in this reſpect: he looked upon theſe games as unlawful; and thought the aſſemblies of the people, upon theſe occaſions, dangerous; and he ſupported what he had done, with ſo much ſtrength of reaſon and eloquence, that JUNIUS MAURICUS could not help crying out, *Vellem etiam Romæ tolli poſſet:* "I wiſh theſe entertainments were prohibited at "*Rome.*"

The character of MAURICUS gives us an idea of a true old Roman, *Quo viro nihil firmius, nihil verius:* "Than "whom, nothing could be more ſteady, nothing more true "of heart." The anſwer of MAURICUS was a ſatir levelled

velled at VEIENTO. He had been an inſtrument of DOMITIAN's wickedneſs; and, as appears by this epiſtle, continued ſufficiently in favour with NERVA, to be admitted at that emperor's table.

EPISTLE XXIII.

PLINY *to* POMPONIUS BASSUS.

I Have taken great pleaſure in the accounts I received from our common friends, that you, agreeably to your wiſdom, diverſify and ſuſtain your retirement by the ſweet ſituation of your dwelling, and by the exerciſe you uſe both by ſea and land; that you hold frequent learned diſputations; that you read much, and hear much; and though your knowledge is very great, yet are making daily additions to it. Thus it becomes a man to grow old, who had filled the greateſt civil employments, who had governed armies, and who, as long as it was proper for him, had devoted himſelf entirely to the ſervice of the ſtate; for we ought to dedicate the morning and the midday of life to our country; the evening of it to ourſelves: a maxim which our laws point out to us, by allowing the age of ſixty to be a warrantable time for retreat. Ah! when will that lawful time come for me? When will my age permit me to imitate your example, and fall honourably into the ſweets of repoſe? When ſhall my retreat, without the imputation of indolence, be termed the enjoyment of tranquillity? Farewell.

OBSERVATIONS.

The reflexions in this letter are very fine. They diſcover the ſame caſt of inclination, the ſame love of retirement, which has been taken notice of in ſome preceding obſervations. There is a moſt inexpreſſible ſatisfaction ariſing in that mind, which can look back upon itſelf with pleaſure,

and after the hurry of the day, and the buſtle neceſſary to aſcend the hill of life, can take comfort in a calm and eaſy deſcent, and paſs gently forward towards the manſions of eternity.

Every man of a ſerious and ſpeculative diſpoſition is naturally fond of ſolitude: but we are not ſent into the world only to contemplate the works of our Creator, but to be active in our ſeveral ſtations, as becomes ſocial beings, who were formed in aid and aſſiſtance of each other. Our country demands the vigour and ſtrength of our days; and when we have performed our parts upon that ſtage, we may withdraw behind the ſcenes, and leave our robes and truncheons to younger actors, content and happy in the applauſes we have received and deſerved. This ſeems to be the purport of this elegant epiſtle, and ſhews the author to have had no other ambition, than what was built upon virtue, and a true devotion to his country.

EPISTLE XXIV.

PLINY *to* VALENS.

WHEN I lately pleaded before the *centumviri*, in their four courts of juſtice, I recollected that I had pleaded, when a young man, before the ſame judicature. My mind, as uſual, took a larger ſcope. I began to conſider, who were the partners of my labour before the preſent court, and who had been my fellow pleaders before the former. I found myſelf the only perſon remaining, who had been a ſpeaker in both: ſo great changes does the brittle ſtate of mortality, or the inconſtancy of fortune, occaſion. Some of my cotemporary pleaders were dead; others were baniſhed; this man was ſilenced by age and infirmity; that man enjoyed the happineſs of a voluntary retreat. Here, one has the command of an army; there another, by the emperor's favour, is exempted from all civil employments. How many changes have I myſelf gone thorough! I owed my firſt promotion to my learning; then I owed my danger

danger to it; and now again I have riſen by my ſtudies. The friendſhips of men of worth were originally of great ſervice to me; then thoſe very friendſhips hurt me; and now again they have turned to my advantage. If you compute by years, the time is ſhort; if by the changes of affairs, you will imagine it an age: which may be a leſſon to us to deſpair of nothing; to truſt in nothing; ſince we find ourſelves whirled round in this inconſtant world by ſuch a variety of revolutions. It is uſual with me, to communicate my thoughts, and to admoniſh you, either by the precepts, or the examples, by which I govern myſelf. This was my inducement to the preſent epiſtle. Farewell.

OBSERVATIONS.

This epiſtle is much to be admired. It is ſhort, juſt, and uſeful; and calculated to adviſe VALENS, in what manner to behave himſelf in ſo mutable and fluctuating a world, as providence has ordained us to inhabit. *Nihil deſperare, nulli rei fidere:* "To deſpair of nothing, to truſt in nothing." Sentences of this kind are interſperſed throughout all the claſſic authors. They are too well known to be quoted; and whoever looks into the antient hiſtorians, particularly HERODOTUS, DIODORUS SICULUS, and JUSTIN, will find, that ſuch kind of moral reflexions ariſe naturally from the mutable circumſtances of facts, and incidents, which they deſcribe. Men in general have ever been agitated by the ſame kind of reſtleſs ſpirit, and tumultuous paſſions. They have been guilty of the ſame vices and follies; and liable to the ſame calamities, from their firſt original, to this day. Empires have riſen and decayed; arts and ſciences have flouriſhed in ſome places, where they never appeared before; and have declined in others, where they had long flouriſhed. Some countries have produced able and good men, at ſome particular ſeaſons; and others have been overrun with barbariſm and ignorance. The excellence of the Chriſtian inſtitution itſelf has not made us much better than our anceſtors. We know from it very fully our duty towards God and man; but we will not put that knowledge

into practice. If we are *wiſe as ſerpents*, we are reſolved not to be *harmleſs as doves*. And yet in deſpite of the boaſted wiſdom and pride of moral antiquity, it is from the Chriſtian doctrines alone we can receive the comfortable certainty, that all the miſeries of this life will be made up, and the righteous will meet ſo full a compenſation for their ſufferings here, that no good man will have reaſon to think he has been hardly dealt with, for having been obliged to paſs through this world, whatever ſtorms and oppreſſions he might have encountered in the voyage.

EPISTLE XXV.

PLINY *to* MAXIMUS.

I Wrote you word, it was to be feared, that ſome abuſe might ariſe from the manner of voting by ballotting. It hath ſo happened. In the laſt elections, there were inſerted in the tablets many looſe jeſts, and ſome even too bad to be repeated: but in one tablet particularly were found the names of the voters inſtead of the candidates. The ſenate fired at this, and with great clamour addreſſed the offended emperor to puniſh the writer: but he [f] diſappointed them and remained concealed; and perhaps was one of thoſe, who ſhewed greateſt reſentment. What idea can we form of this man's private behaviour at home, who, in an affair of ſuch importance, at ſo ſerious a juncture, could jeſt ſo ſcurrilouſly? and, who even in the ſenate, is at once a giber, a fine gentleman, and a ſmart fellow. So great room for licentiouſneſs has the confidence of being undiſcovered given to wicked diſpoſitions: *who can find us out?* is the argument, under which they entrench themſelves. This man demanded the tablets, took his pen in his hand, held down his head to write; and whilſt he fears no other, deſpiſes himſelf. From

[f] The Writer.

hence

hence theſe mockeries, which are fit only for the ſtage. Where would you turn? What remedies would you ſeek? On every ſide the vices are more powerful than the remedies. But all theſe things will be taken care of by one [g] above us, to whoſe daily vigilance this impotent, but unbridled pertneſs of our times has given an additional weight of labour. Farewell.

OBSERVATIONS.

The ill conſequences foretold by PLINY, in the twentieth epiſtle of the third book, which would probably ariſe from the tabellarian law, are now come to paſs. That impudence, which he dreaded, has now appeared, but under ſuch a diſguiſe, as to run no hazard of a diſcovery; and PLINY ſhews a juſt indignation upon the occaſion. But as there are ſome obſcure paſſages in this epiſtle, let us endeavour to find out what they mean.

Quid hunc putamus domi facere, qui in tantâ re, tam ſerio tempore, tam ſcurriliter ludat? "If a man could be ſo ſcur-"rilouſly ludicrous at ſo ſerious a time, upon ſo important "an occaſion, what muſt his behaviour be at home?" That is, whoever could be guilty of ſuch idle mockeries, when juſtice, decency, and the public good required a contrary behaviour, would undoubtedly ſacrifice every thing to his own looſe inclinations, and revel in enormities, when he was ſecure from the fear of puniſhment, as he might probably be at his own houſe.

Qui denique omnino in ſenatu dicax, et urbanus, et bellus eſt? This ſentence is extremely difficult to tranſlate cloſely, ſo as to come up to the full intention of PLINY's words. They are likely enough to be aimed at ſome particular perſon, whom MAXIMUS would eaſily know by this deſcription, *Qui in ſenatu dicax*, "who in the ſenate is a buffoon," *et urbanus, et bellus eſt*: "and with an air of politeneſs is a "mere coxcomb."

Neminem veretur, ſe contemnit: "He fears no body, and "yet deſpiſes himſelf." That is, the inward dictates of his heart tell him, although he is ſafe from diſcovery, he is

[g] TRAJAN.

doing what he ought to be aſhamed of; he feels his diſgrace, although he is determined not to ſhew it: and while he acts in ſecurity, labours under the terrors of ſelf-conviction: he is brought in guilty by his own conſcience, when no other judge in the world could condemn him. The phraſeology is extremely ſhort, but very expreſſive; and he concludes the epiſtle in all the elegance of loyalty, by lamenting, that the impudence and impertinence of ſuch idle people ſhould diſturb the happineſs and peace of his imperial maſter.

EPISTLE XXVI.

PLINY *to* NEPOS.

YOU deſire I ſhould order ſuch of my treatiſes, as you have affectionately purchaſed, to be read over and corrected. I ſhall certainly obey. For what taſk can I undertake more willingly, eſpecially as it is your command? When a man of your great conſequence, learning, politeneſs, and, what is more, placed in the buſieſt ſcene of life, going to govern one of our greateſt provinces, ſets eſtimation enough upon my writings to carry them with him, I ought to take all poſſible pains to prevent this part of his equipage from remaining entirely uſeleſs. I ſhall therefore firſt apply myſelf to make theſe companions as agreeable to you as poſſible, and then to prepare others, which you may add to your collection, when you return. My inducement to write muſt be great, ſince I know I ſhall have ſuch a reader. Farewell.

OBSERVATIONS.

The firſt ſentence in this epiſtle is not immediately intelligible. *Petis, ut libellos meos, quos ſtudioſiſſimè comparaſti, legendos, recognoſcendoſque curem.* The meaning I apprehend to be this: "You deſire I would direct thoſe parts of my "works, which you have purchaſed with ſuch affection-"ate care, to be reviſed and corrected by the original ma-"nuſcripts;" which being in PLINY's own hands, from him

him only an exact copy could be obtained. The character of NEPOS, to whom this epiſtle is addreſſed, is given us by PLINY, in his fourth epiſtle of this book, addreſſed to SOSSIUS SENECIO, the friend of PLUTARCH.

EPISTLE XXVII.

PLINY *to* POMPEIUS FALCO.

THIS is the third day that I have attended SENTIUS AUGURINUS in the rehearſal of his poetical performances; with great pleaſure, and indeed with great admiration. He calls them his Miſcellanies [h]. Among theſe many are trifling, many ſublime, ſome are florid, ſome pathetic, many are writ in a panegyrical, and many in a ſatirical ſtyle. For ſome years paſt I think I have not ſeen any writings of that kind more perfect, unleſs either the affection I bear the author, or the encomiums he has beſtowed upon me, have prejudiced my judgement. For he begins with a compliment to me upon my diverting myſelf now and then in the poetical way. And therefore I will make you judge of my partiality, if I can recollect his ſecond line; for I remember the reſt, and have them ready for you.

For more exalted flights unfit
I tune my lyre to love and wit;
In ſtrains like thoſe CATULLUS ſung,
Or ſuch as flow'd from CALVUS' tongue.
Without authorities like theſe
My ſportive muſe may hope to pleaſe.
PLINY beyond them all I prize,
In virtues equal, and as wiſe.

[h] Poëmatia.

My pattern he in what I do,
My pattern, and my ſanction too.
Quitting the forum, with delight
On gayeſt themes he deigns to write,
And oft his vacant pen employs
On love's imaginary joys.
From buſineſs freed, in ſtrains like theſe
He writes, and never fails to pleaſe.
What he? the wonder of our age?
Like CATO, ſaid you, grave and ſage?
Ev'n he: nor need I then to care,
What CATO's thoughts of poets were.
Go you, who fain would make pretence
To more than ordinary ſenſe;
Deſpiſe the muſe, and laugh at love,
Let your auſtere behaviour prove,
(And all, who pleaſe, believe it true)
That PLINY has leſs wit than you.

You ſee how ſmart, how proper, how expreſſive they are! I dare engage to you, the whole book, which I will ſend you as ſoon as it comes out, is of a piece, and in the ſame taſte. In the mean while prepare a place in your heart for this young man, and congratulate our age upon producing ſuch a genius, which he ſtill adorns by his excellent morals. He is continually with SPURINNA and ANTONINUS; being related to the one, and a welcome gueſt to the other. You may eaſily conjecture from hence, that he is a youth of no ſmall accompliſhments, ſince he is in ſo high favour with men of their years and worth. For what the proverb ſays is certainly true, "*Such as the man is, ſuch is the* "*company he delights in.*" Farewell.

OBSER-

OBSERVATIONS.

It muſt be confeſſed there is an air of vanity in this epiſtle, far from being conſiſtent with that modeſty, which is not only amiable, and attractive, but which may be ranked among the duties of mankind.

The antients are full of ſelf-praiſe. Fame was the ultimate end of all their views. Incenſe could not be more agreeable to their deities, than adulation was to themſelves.

The verſes, quoted from AUGURINUS, give us no advantageous idea of him as a poet. They are neither muſical, nor eaſily underſtood. But as the morals of the author are repreſented, by PLINY, remarkably conſpicuous, his eminent virtues were of more conſequence to the public, than the eaſieſt ſtrains of poetry could poſſibly have been.

EPISTLE XXVIII.

PLINY *to* CATILIUS SEVERUS.

HERENNIUS SEVERUS, a man of great learning, thinks it will be an honour to place the portraits of CORNELIUS NEPOS and TITUS CASSIUS in his library. They were both natives of your city; and he deſires, if their pictures are there, as it is probable they are, that I would take care to get them copied, and painted. This is a commiſſion, which I particularly enjoin you to execute: firſt, becauſe your friendſhip always diſpoſes you to grant any favour I aſk: again, becauſe you bear the utmoſt reſpect to literature, and the utmoſt affection to men of learning: laſtly, becauſe you reverence and admire, not only your country itſelf, but all thoſe who have done honour to its name. I beg you would chuſe out the moſt exact painter you can find: for as it is difficult to perfect a likeneſs from an

an original, ſo a copy, from a copy, is ſtill more difficult. I entreat you therefore, that the artiſt you pitch upon may not be permitted to vary, even for the better. Adieu.

OBSERVATIONS.

CORNELIUS NEPOS flouriſhed in the reigns of the two firſt Cæſars, JULIUS and AUGUSTUS; an æra, when the *Roman* language was in the utmoſt perfection. He was a man of high reputation for learning, and all thoſe other advantages, which tend to eſtabliſh a great character. Such of his works, as are come down to theſe later ages, are but a ſmall part of his more numerous writings. They are excellent in their kind. The purity of the language, the dignity of the ſtyle, the conciſeneſs of the narration, (in which the manners and memoirs of ſo many different men are included) demonſtrate the extenſive genius of the author, and ſtrike us with deep regret for thoſe other pieces, which time has deſtroyed. He has not only given us the lives of illuſtrious generals and commanders, ſuch as MILTIADES, THEMISTOCLES, PAUSANIAS, and others, but has alſo written the life of CATO, and of ATTICUS; with the latter of whom, and with TULLY, this eminent biographer lived in the utmoſt familiarity and friendſhip. The place of his birth is uncertain; ſome authors ſay he was born at *Parma*, others at *Verona*: the point is of no great importance.

TITUS CASSIUS SEVERUS was an orator of mean birth, but high diſtinction in eloquence: or, to make uſe of the words of TACITUS[i], *Relatum et de* CASSIO SEVERO *exule, qui ſordidæ originis, maleficiæ vitæ, ſed orandi validus*: "The affair of CASSIUS SEVERUS, who had been exiled, "came before the ſenate: he was a man of a very ſordid "original; of a very miſchievous life; but he was a power-"ful orator." He was of a ſatirical, implacable nature, which he indulged ſo imprudently, as to bring upon himſelf the revenge of many powerful enemies; and accordingly he was baniſhed by a ſolemn order of ſenate, during the

[i] Annal. TACITI, lib. 4. cap. 21.

reign

reign of AUGUSTUS. He died in the twenty fifth year of his exile, amidſt all the pinching circumſtances of want, and wretchedneſs; a miſerable martyr to his own ſlanderous diſpoſition: nor was the inveteracy of his temper to be conquered, but by death: for TACITUS adds, *Atque illic* [in exilio] *eadem actitando, recentia veteraque odia advertit; boniſque exutus, interdicto igni atque aqua,* [k] *ſaxo Seriphio conſenuit:* "And by continuing, during his exile, in the ſame "paths of malice, he confirmed the former, and raiſed freſh "enmities againſt himſelf. Thus he grew old, upon the "rocks of *Seriphos*, deprived of his eſtate, and interdicted "from fire and water."

If the picture of CORNELIUS NEPOS was an honour to the library of HERENNIUS SEVERUS, certainly the portrait of T. CASSIUS SEVERUS was rather a diſgrace to it. But as the epiſtle is addreſſed to JULIUS SEVERUS, and as HERENNIUS SEVERUS is the perſon, who deſires the pictures; ſuch a parity of names gives us room to imagine, that they were both relations to TITUS CASSIUS SEVERUS; a circumſtance, which PLINY purpoſely avoids to mention, becauſe all authors agree, that the birth of CASSIUS was low and obſcure.

[k] One of the *Cyclades*, iſlands in the *Archipelago*.

EPISTLE XXIX.

PLINY *to* VOCONIUS ROMANUS.

AWAKE, my friend! and the next time buſineſs is going forward, at any rate come into court. It is to no purpoſe to ſleep under the confidence of my indulgence: your idleneſs will not go unpuniſhed. Obſerve, LICINIUS NEPOS, the prætor, a rigid and reſolute man, impoſed a fine, even upon a ſenator, who pleaded his own cauſe in the ſenate, but pleaded it by petitioning to be forgiven: the fine was remitted; but, not till he had ſuffered much fear; had made his ſubmiſſion; and was under the

the neceſſity of a pardon. You will ſay, all prætors are not ſo ſevere: you are miſtaken; for, although I own, a man muſt be naturally ſevere, who can make, or revive ſuch a precedent; yet when it is made, or revived, the beſt-natured man alive may be ſtrict enough to put it in execution. Farewell.

OBSERVATIONS.

From this epiſtle we learn, that the prætors had the power of convening the judges, and of impoſing of fines on thoſe, who were ſummoned, and neglected to appear. It farther ſhews, that the ſenate had a power of reducing, confirming, or taking off thoſe fines.

The prætors, for ſome time paſt, had been too eaſy and remiſs in diſcharging this part of their duty: and from hence the judges had contracted an inattention to buſineſs, and a lazineſs in their attendance; which occaſioned great delay, and much expence to the ſuitors. But LICINIUS NEPOS, at that time prætor, a man rigid, and reſolute in exerting his authority, went ſo far, as even to impoſe a fine upon one of the ſenators, who, truſting to former indulgences, had not paid immediate obedience to his ſummons. The fine being thus laid, the ſenator had no relief, but from the ſenate. Hence it is evident, that all fines, impoſed by the courts, were to be reported to the ſenate, who had authority, as is already ſaid, to reduce, or to confirm them. If confirmed, they were paid into the public treaſury, in the ſame manner, as with us, all fines impoſed by other courts are eſtreated [1] into the Exchequer; where the barons, together with the king's council, who are called commiſſioners of reducement, have power to levy, or reduce them.

The fine being reported to the ſenate, the perſon mentioned here, as fined by NEPOS, pleaded for himſelf. *Egit*

[1] Our manner of eſtreating is thus. The judges, who impoſe the fines, certify in parchment the name and abode of the perſon, the fine impoſed, and the cauſe of impoſing it. This parchment is filed in the Exchequer, and becomes a record thereof, and theſe are called eſtreats, *quaſi extracta* out of the records of the courts, from whence they came.

autem

autem ſic, ut deprecaretur : "But his pleading was nothing "more than a deprecation of judgement." He did not pretend it was illegally impoſed, or that his omiſſion of duty could bear any juſt excuſe ; but he had recourſe to prayers, ſubmiſſion and entreaties for mercy. The ſenate remitted the penalty, but not immediately. They ſuffered him to remain ſome time in doubt ; nor did they chuſe to relieve him from his anxiety, till he had been ſufficiently puniſhed by his fears of their determination, and till he had confeſſed his offence, and had publicly begged their pardon : an example of juſtice and mercy, highly becoming the ſenate of *Rome*.

EPISTLE XXX.

PLINY *to* LICINIUS SURA.

I Have brought to you, out of my own country, inſtead of a preſent, a problem, well deſerving the attention of your deepeſt philoſophy.

A ſpring riſes in a mountain, it runs down through rocks, and is afterwards received into a banqueting houſe, artificially formed for that purpoſe. The force of its current is there a little retarded, and falls from thence into the Larian lake. The nature of this ſpring is ſurprizing. Three times in a day it regularly riſes, and ſubſides, in equal degrees of proportion. This is plainly perceivable, and you are at once convinced and delighted. You may lye down by it, and regale yourſelf with a collation, while the fountain, which is exquiſitely cold, ſupplies you with drink : in the mean time, the ſpring in equal, and reciprocal periods of time, either ebbs, or flows. If you place a ring, or any thing elſe in a dry part, near the verge of the fountain, it is gradually waſhed by the water, and at laſt covered by it : again, it diſcovers it to view ; and again, in a little time, retreats entirely from it. If you continue your obſervation,

ſervation, you will ſee the ſame thing repeated, a ſecond, and a third time. Is there any internal air, which ſucceſſively relaxes and contracts the orifice and mouth of the fountain, when, by its impulſe, it reſiſts, or, by its retreat, it yields to it? This we find is the caſe in jars, and veſſels of that form, which have not a direct and free opening; for theſe, when either perpendicularly, or obliquely placed, pour out the liquors they contain, with interrupted gulphs, and the ſighs, as it were, of a ſtruggling ſpirit. Or, is the ſpring under the ſame influence with the ocean? And is this ſmall collection of water ſucceſſively contracted and enlarged by the ſame law, which makes that ebb and flow? Or, is its current repelled, during a certain ſpace of time, by ſome cauſe not unlike to contrary winds, and the tide, which, by their oppoſing force, reſiſt the motion of the rivers into the ſea? Or, is there ſome latent reſervoir within, ſo formed, as to retain a certain quantity of water, which ſupplies this ſpring; whoſe current is diminiſhed and runs ſlower during the gradual collection of water, but becomes larger and more rapid, when the whole is collected? Or, is it owing (though I comprehend not how) to ſome hidden balance; which alternately riſing and falling, as its equilibrium is varied by being more empty or full, ſucceſſively riſes, or ſuppreſſes the motion of the water? Examine (for you can) into the cauſes of this wonder. It is ſufficient for me, if I have given you an exact deſcription of it. Farewell.

OBSERVATIONS.

There are ſeveral inſtances, beſides this mentioned by PLINY, of ebbing and flowing ſprings. As he was firſt formed in his ſtudies by his uncle PLINY the elder, ſuch a ſurprizing phænomenon could not fail to ſtrike his mind in the manner he deſcribes; and although the Ariſtotelian philoſophy,

loſophy, which then prevailed, could not afford any rational and ſatisfactory ſolution of ſuch an appearance; yet the conjectures, which PLINY offers with great modeſty, are ſo ingenious, that ſome authors, who have ſince deſcribed theſe reciprocal fountains, have either declined (as too difficult a taſk) giving any account of the reaſon [a] of them, or have taken their hypoth.ſes from his conjectures, without mentioning his name. PLINY (amidſt the darkneſs, in which natural philoſophy was enveloped during his time) has certainly more than hinted the real cauſe, which, from the beſt principles in hydraulics, accounts moſt rationally for theſe appearances.

Dr. LEIGH, in his *natural hiſtory of* Lancaſhire, deſcribes an ebbing and flowing ſpring called *Tideſwell*, in the peak of *Derbyſhire*, and one more remarkable at *Gigleſwig* in *Yorkſhire*. He endeavours to account for the flux and reflux from an internal air (of the ſame nature with the *Spiritus occultior* in this epiſtle) ſucceſſively choaking up, and relaxing the orifices of the aqueducts, which form the ſpring; and which he ſuppoſes to run, not in a direct, but in a ſpiral manner.

The cauſes of the flux and reflux of the ocean were unknown in the time of PLINY, but may not, perhaps, improperly be taken to explain an appearance, which bears ſo near an analogy to it, and is really the only true ſolution of this reciprocal motion of ſome ſprings.

The ebbing and flowing of the ſea agree evidently with the times of the moon, but yet produced by the united force of attraction of the ſun and moon. This operation is immediately on the atmoſphere; and therefore the effects will be the ſame, in ſome certain degree, whether this atmoſphere preſſes the ſea, or particular fountains; for all fluid bodies are in ſome meaſure influenced by this general great law of attraction: and a cubical inch of water ſwells and ſubſides in proportion with that of the ocean; yet, on this account, in all other collections of water (which have not an immediate communication with the ocean) muſt be imperceptible. But where water is conveyed from the ocean to fountains, then, according to the ſituation, regularity, or irregularity of ſuch paſſages, the riſing and falling of the ocean may act differently,

[a] Vide VARENI Geog. cap. 17. prop. 17.

with

with regard to the force impreſſed on the waters iſſuing from it: and a ſubſiding ocean may act with greater force on ſome canals (according to their ſituation) than a riſing one.

But as it does not appear, that this ebbing and flowing well, mentioned by PLINY, had any communication with the ſea, or obſerved the ſame periods with it of riſing or ſubſiding, (neither in that caſe would the motions of it have been uniform, but varied in the different times of the day) ſome other way of accounting for it muſt be attempted.

All the phænomena of different ebbing and flowing wells have been rationally explained, by ſuppoſing them ſupplied from reſervoirs, that have natural ſiphons, not unlike what HERO ALEXANDRINUS, and other hydraulic writers, have deſcribed in a cup, (from its effect called *Tantalus)* which will hold any quantity of water very well, when it is not filled above a certain height marked in the cup; but if it be filled higher, not only the liquor above the mark will run out, but the whole quantity which this veſſel contains.

It is beyond doubt, that many mountains abound with caverns of different ſizes and forms; and have likewiſe channels of various ſhapes, which convey the water from one cavern to another. Such paſſages, (of whatſoever ſhape and dimenſion, or however winding) if they are tight, and run from the lower part of the cavity, firſt upwards, to a height leſs than that of the cavern, and then downwards, will be a natural ſiphon.

And from theſe cauſes, probably, was formed PLINY's miraculous well. He ſeems to have hinted as much, where he ſays, *An latentibus venis certa menſura, quæ dum colligit, quod exhauſerat, minor rivus, et pigrior; cum collegit, agilior majorque profertur?* "Whether or not, from veins of "the earth riſing to a certain given height, the ſpring, "while it again receives the fluid, which it had before "thrown out, does not ſeem a leſs and ſlower ſtream? "When the ſame quantity of water is quite collected, does "it not become quicker and larger?"

It is evident, from PLINY's deſcription, in two or three places of the epiſtle, eſpecially by the expreſſion, *Ter in die ſtatis auctibus, ac diminutionibus*; and again, *certis dimenſiſque momentis*, that the ebbing and flowing conſtantly obſerved

obſerved a fixed, and regular period, three times a day, at equal diſtances. Therefore, the cauſes producing it muſt act in an equal uniform manner: but whether the hints thrown out, in theſe obſervations, have given the leaſt light towards thoſe cauſes, is left, my dear Lord BOYLE, to your determination.

The End of the FOURTH BOOK.





Wale inv.t Bonneau f.

PLINY's EPISTLES.

BOOK V.

EPISTLE I.

PLINY *to* CATILIUS SEVERUS.

A SMALL legacy is fallen to me, but more acceptable than the largeſt. Why more acceptable than the largeſt? POMPONIA GRATILIA having diſinherited her ſon, ASSUDIUS CURIANUS, left me one of her heirs, and appointed SERTORIUS SEVERUS, a man of prætorian order, and other eminent *Roman* knights, coheirs with me. CURIANUS deſired, that I would beſtow upon him my particular portion, and aſſiſt him by that *forejudge-*

ment * of his right, promiſing, by a ſecret contract, to ſecure to me my own ſhare. I anſwered, that it was not agreeable to my conſtant practice to do one thing publicly, and another, quite inconſiſtent with it, in ſecret. Beſides, that it was not honourable to make donations to a perſon, who was rich, and had no children. In a word, if I made him a preſent of my part in the manner he deſired, it would be no advantage to him; but it might be of ſervice, if I renounced my right, which I was willing to do, if it ſhould appear to me, that he was unjuſtly diſinherited. To this he ſaid, "I deſire you would inform "yourſelf of the truth." Pauſing a little, I replied, "I will; nor do I ſee, why I ſhould appear leſs in "my own eye, than I appear in yours: but now "remember, that I ſhall not want courage to pro-"nounce my judgement in favour of your mother, "if the fact leads me to be of that opinion." "Do "as you pleaſe," anſwered he, "for you will cer-"tainly do what is moſt equitable." I called in two aſſiſtants, who were men, at that time, of moſt diſtinguiſhed characters in *Rome*, CORELLIUS, and FRONTINUS. With theſe on each ſide of me, I ſat as a judge in my chamber. CURIANUS ſpoke what he thought made moſt for his purpoſe. I anſwered in few words; nor was there any other preſent to defend the honour of the deceaſed. I then withdrew to conſult with my aſſiſtants, and as we had agreed in opinion, I ſaid to him, "CURIANUS, your mother "ſeems to have had juſt reaſons to be angry with "you."

* The *præjudicium*, or forejudgement, alludes to the *præjudicium* of the *decemviri*, which had generally an influence on the *centumviri*. Some cauſes were firſt judged by the *decemviri*, and afterwards by the *centumviri*; and thoſe were called *præjudiciales*. Thus PLINY's prejudgement might have had an influence on the coheirs.

After

After this, CURIANUS commenced a ſuit before the centumviri with the other coheirs, but not with me. The day of hearing approached; my coheirs were willing to compound, and make an end of the conteſt: not from any diffidence of their cauſe, but from fear of the times. They were apprehenſive of what they had ſeen happen to many, that while they were defending a civil cauſe before the centumviri, they ſhould be accuſed of ſome capital crime. And there were ſome amongſt them, to whom the friendſhip both of GRATILLA and RUSTICUS would be objected. They deſired me to talk to CURIANUS. We met in the temple of Concord. There I aſked him, "If your mother had left you heir to a fourth part "of her fortune, could you complain? What if "your mother had appointed you heir to her whole "fortune, but had ſo loaded it with legacies, that "not more than a fourth part would come clear to "you? You ought therefore to be contented, if "you, who have been diſinherited by your mother, "receive a fourth part from her heirs; to which alſo "I will make an addition. You know you com-"menced no ſuit againſt me; and two years are "now paſſed, by which I have obtained a legal and "indiſputable right. But in order to make you "more conformable to my coheirs, and not to let "you be a loſer by your reſpect to me, I make you "the ſame offer for my own particular ſhare."

I had the ſatisfaction not only of diſcharging a good conſcience, but of obtaining glory by it: therefore this ſame CURIANUS left me a legacy; and (unleſs perhaps I flatter myſelf) has diſtinguiſhed what I did, as an action equally honourable with thoſe of the ancients.

I have written theſe particulars to you, becauſe I have been uſed to confer as much with you as with myſelf, upon all points, that either delighted, or diſturbed me. In ſhort, I thought it unkind to de-

fraud ſo dear a friend of that pleaſure, which I myſelf enjoyed: nor indeed am I Stoic enough to think it of no conſequence, whether I obtain the approbation of others, as a reward for thoſe actions, which, I think, I have performed with honour. Farewell.

OBSERVATIONS.

The legacy here ſpoken of is not, as I apprehend, the legacy from GRATILLA, but from CURIANUS, who was ſo pleaſed, and found himſelf ſo much obliged by PLINY's conduct with the coheirs of POMPONIA GRATILLA, that dying ſoon afterwards, he left him, as a token of friendſhip and gratitude, *Legatum modicum, ſed ampliſſimo gratius:* "He "bequeathed him a moderate legacy, but more acceptable "than the largeſt." Nevertheleſs the light, in which the epiſtle is generally looked upon, differs extremely from what is now advanced. The commentators all imagine it the legacy of the mother, from which PLINY aſſumes ſuch honourable joy, and not any bequeſt from the ſon: but they are certainly miſtaken. ASSUDIUS CURIANUS, admiring the juſtice, and ſmitten with the generoſity of PLINY, when appointed one of the heirs of POMPONIA GRATILLA, takes an opportunity, at his death, of teſtifying the high ſenſe he retained of our author's diſintereſted behaviour: *Ille ergo* CURIANUS *legatum* PLINIO *reliquit:* "CURIANUS there-"fore left a legacy to PLINY."

Take the epiſtle in this ſenſe, and it raiſes the character of CURIANUS to a high degree. He had been abſolutely diſinherited by his mother: nevertheleſs, by the prudent management of PLINY, (for there is prudence, as well as generoſity, in the deciſion) he came in for a ſhare of her wealth, to no part of which he could otherwiſe have made any juſt pretenſion. It is plain, therefore, all his hopes reſted either in the iniquity of the times, or the benevolent diſpoſition of the coheirs: whatever he gained from them, muſt be a free gift; whatever he gained by law, muſt be repugnant to equity: *Verebantur, quod videbant multis accidiſſe, ne ex centumvirali judicio capitis rei exirent:* "They "were apprehenſive leſt they ſhould be capitally condemned "by the decree of the centumviri, a fate, which they ob-"ſerved had befallen many others." It was noble there-

fore

fore in CURIANUS to chooſe the road of juſtice, and the path of peace. In thoſe ſentiments he quitted his deſign of ſuing the coheirs, (perſons obnoxious probably to the higher powers) and acquieſced in accepting the fourth part of his mother's fortune, which was ſtill more extraordinary, as he had already taken ſome ſteps, by commencing a law-ſuit, towards poſſeſſing himſelf of the whole.

It may be objected, that as the death of CURIANUS is not mentioned in the epiſtle, we ought to ſuppoſe, the legacy to have come from GRATILLA. But the death of CURIANUS was a known circumſtance; he was a perſon of note, the ſon of ARULENUS RUSTICUS, who had been put to death by DOMITIAN; and therefore PLINY had no need to impart a piece of news to SEVERUS, with which he certainly muſt be already acquainted. The particulars of the bequeſt could be known only to few, and PLINY had great reaſon to be vain (if there can be a reaſon for vanity) in being appointed coheir by the mother, and in having a legacy bequeathed to him by the ſon, with whom that mother had lived in ſo great eſtrangement, as totally to cut him off from any benefit in her will. It ſhews, that all perſons, although ever ſo much at variance with each other, agreed mutually in their love, and eſteem of our author.

Among the old *Romans* there were three kinds of wills; *Unum, quod calatis comitiis: alterum, quod in procinctu: tertium, quod per æs et libram appellatum eſt.*

The firſt kind were ſuch wills as were made by any perſons in the *comitia calata*, an aſſembly of the people, who were called together for the election and conſecration of prieſts; and, in the more antient times of the commonwealth, for wills made in preſence of the people.

The ſecond kind related wholly to the ſoldiery. *In procinctu facta teſtamenta, Feſto interprete, dicebantur, quæ milites pugnaturi, vel, ut planius* PLUTARCHUS, *præſentibus commilitonibus nuncupabant.*

The third kind, *Per æs et libram*, is deſcribed by ROSINUS to be a ſort of imaginary, or fictitious ſale, by which the ſeller diſpoſed of all his effects. The buyer gave no conſideration, and was only a truſtee in the whole affair. But it was required, in making this particular kind of will, that two *Roman* citizens of mature age, and the [b] *libripens* (an officer, who overlooked the weights and meaſures, and

[b] A libra & pendendo, ſive ponderando dictus, quaſi ponderator.

was an overſeer in weighing goods) and the buyer alſo, in all amounting to ſeven perſons, ſhould be preſent.

The two firſt ſort of teſtaments were early laid aſide by the *Romans*; and the third, although it continued longer, yet, according to [c] JUSTINIAN, at length fell into diſuſe; and another form was inſtituted, appointing not only ſeven witneſſes to be preſent, and ſubſcribe their names, but the edict of the prætor to be neceſſary, and ſeals to be affixed to every will, that was perfected.

Children were not permitted to make a will, or to deviſe any legacy by teſtament, unleſs what they gained in war, ſuch as ſoldier's pay, *&c.* Their lives, their properties, and their liberty, were under the dominion of their parents. JUSTINIAN, in his Inſtitutes, takes particular notice of the unparalleled power, which the *Romans* had over their children, where he ſays, [d] *Jus autem poteſtatis, quod in liberos habemus, proprium eſt civium Romanorum; nulli enim alii ſunt homines, qui talem in liberos habeant poteſtatem, quam nos habemus:* "But the power and right, which we have over "our children, is a property only of the *Romans*. No "other people have juriſdictions of that kind but ourſelves." And DIONYSIUS HALICARNASSENSIS informs us, that the *Romans* had a greater authority over their ſons, than the maſters over their ſlaves. A ſervant once ſold, if he obtained a manumiſſion from his new maſter, became entirely free: but the ſon was not at his own liberty before he was three times ſold by his father, and had received three manumiſſions from his maſters. From hence many acts of arbitrary power aroſe. The tender yearnings of nature were often obliterated in parents: they gave themſelves up to paſſion and partiality, and diſinherited their own offſpring from prejudice, without a cauſe. This ſeems not to have been the caſe of GRATILLA; ſhe had diſinherited her ſon CURIANUS by her will; but in all probability had aſſigned reaſons for ſo doing, the laws at that time requiring it. The ſon imagined, that upon a trial thoſe reaſons might not be confirmed: he applied himſelf therefore to PLINY in the manner mentioned in this letter; who acted with his uſual openneſs and integrity, rejected all propoſals of gain, and avoided the leaſt underhand dealing, or diſhonourable compact. Struck, and enamoured, as we ſaid before, with ſo

[c] Vid. JUSTINIAN. de teſtamentis ordinandis. lib. 2. tit. 10.
[d] Lib. 1. tit. 9. §. 2. p. 43.

much

much virtue, CURIANUS, by a legacy of kindneſs at his death, gave occaſion to this epiſtle. It appears to have been written in the reign of DOMITIAN; and, in one place particularly, hints at the perils of that dangerous reign.

EPISTLE II.

PLINY *to* FLACCUS.

I Have received the preſent of delicate ſea-thruſhes, to which, during this tempeſtuous weather, I can ſend no equivalent, either from the market of *Laurentinum*, or from the ſea. A barren letter, which bears no proportion to the favour I have received, is all the return you will find. I cannot even imitate the policy of DIOMEDES in the exchange. But ſuch is your good nature, that in this point you will more eaſily grant me a pardon, from the frank confeſſion, that I ſcarce deſerve it. Farewell.

OBSERVATIONS.

Many of PLINY's epiſtles have eſcaped the flames, merely as they were tokens of certain circumſtances neceſſary for his remembrance; or amuſements, by which he might now and then review, what he had expreſt to his correſpondents upon particular occaſions. Of this latter ſort ſeems to be this epiſtle to FLACCUS. The compliment is genteel, and as much ſaid, as the ſubject will admit; which although not intereſting to us at preſent, yet perhaps, at the time when written, or preſerved, was of ſome uſe either to the author, or his friend; or, indeed, might be kept only to remind PLINY, that he owed FLACCUS a preſent of fiſh from *Laurentinum*, a debt, which he ought, and intended to pay, as ſoon as the weather became leſs tempeſtuous.

The *turdi* were the ſea-thruſh; a ſmall ſpotted fiſh, not a foot long, of a ruſſet-colour, and in figure like a tench, living among ſtones and rocks; by which means it was impoſſible to take them, except in calm weather. They were eaten generally in [e] autumn, and were eſteemed a delicacy

[e] See DACIER's notes on HORACE, ſat. 1. lib. 1.

among

among the *Romans*. The mention of ſea-thruſhes reminds us of a ridiculous inn-keeper, deſcribed by HORACE in his journey to *Brunduſium*, whoſe exceſſive officiouſneſs in broiling this kind of fiſh ſet his houſe on fire.

Tendimus hinc recta Beneventum, ubi ſedulus hoſpes
Pæne arſit, macros dum turdos verſat in igne:
Nam vaga per veterem dilapſo flamma culinam
Vulcano, ſummum properabat lambere tectum
Convivas avidos cœnam, ſervoſque timentes
Tum rapere, atque omnes reſtinguere velle videres [f].

" To *Beneventum* next our journey lay,
" Our journey ended with the cloſe of day;
" The buſy landlord ſweating bad prepare
" Some lean ſea-thruſhes, ſmall, but welcome fare.
" From cover'd embers new-blown flames ariſe,
" And wood on wood th' officious hoſt ſupplies,
" Till old and foul, with ſoot of years replete,
" The chimney kindled with unuſual heat;
" A larger vent the furious flame demands,
" Back rolls the tempeſt on the feeder's hands:
" Then mounting upwards with tremendous blaze
" Seizes the beam, and round the cieling plays:
" Amaz'd, confus'd, gueſts, ſervants, all conſpire
" To ſave the ſupper firſt, then quench the fire."

[f] HOR. lib. 1. ſat. 5.

EPISTLE III.

PLINY *to* ARISTO.

AT the ſame time, that your numerous acts of friendſhip are extremely grateful, and agreeable to me, ſcarce any one of them has pleaſed me more, than your not concealing from me, the many and copious diſputes, relating to my verſes, at your houſe; which were ſtill lengthened out by the various opinions of the critics. Amongſt whom there were ſome, who did not condemn the poems themſelves, yet

yet blamed me (but in a very friendly and ſincere manner) for having written and repeated publicly verſes of that kind; to whoſe cenſure, (although I thereby render myſelf more blameable,) I make this anſwer: My poetical compoſitions are ſometimes not the graveſt: I write comedies, I frequent pantomimes, I read lyrics, I unravel the myſteries of ſatir; and beſides, I now and then indulge myſelf in laughing, joking, playing; and, in one word, to ſhew I take ſome delight in all innocent recreations, I am a man. Nor can it give me any concern, that ſuch judges ſhould entertain ſo bad an opinion of my morals, and be ſo much ſurprized at my writings, when they are ignorant enough not to know, that the moſt learned, the graveſt, and the chaſteſt authors have written in the ſame way. But I am convinced I ſhall eaſily obtain permiſſion from thoſe, who are well acquainted with the value, and the number of the authors, in whoſe ſteps I tread, to err with companions, whom it is honourable to imitate, not only in their ſerious, but alſo in their diverting compoſitions. Shall I be afraid, (I will name none among the living, leſt I ſubject myſelf to an appearance of flattery) I ſay, ſhall I fear, that what became TULLY, CALVUS, POLLIO, MESSALA, HORTENSIUS, BRUTUS, SYLLA, CATULUS, SCÆVOLA, SULPITIUS, VARRO, TORQUATUS, even all the Torquati, MEMMIUS, LENTULUS, GÆTULICUS, SENECA, and laſt of all, VERGINIUS RUFUS, ſhould be indecent in me? And, if private examples will not ſuffice, let me name the Cæſars, JULIUS, AUGUSTUS, NERVA, and TITUS; for I paſs by NERO: although I know, that thoſe writings do not neceſſarily become corrupted, which are written even by the worſt of men, but I alſo know, that thoſe remain always pure, which are written by virtuous men; among whom ought particularly to be mentioned, VIRGIL and CORNELIUS NEPOS, but firſt I ſhould have ſaid ACCIUS

and

and ENNIUS. Theſe were not ſenators, but purity of manners equals all ranks. I indeed rehearſe my compoſitions, but know not, whether they rehearſed, or not. True, but they might reſt ſatisfied in their own judgement; my ſentiments of myſelf are more modeſt, than to think any work ſufficiently perfect, that has only my own approbation. For theſe reaſons therefore I rehearſe; firſt, becauſe whoever recites in public, looks over, and examines his writings with a ſeverer eye, out of deference to his audience: then again, if he has any doubts, they are determined, as it were, by the opinion and advice of his auditors. He meets with many admonitions from different perſons; or, if not, he perceives the ſentiments of every particular perſon by the countenance, the eyes, a nod, a motion of the hand, a murmur, a dead ſilence; all which lead him eaſily to diſtinguiſh judgement from complaiſance. And from hence it is, that if any one of thoſe, who were preſent at my rehearſal, ſhould have the curioſity to read what I then repeated, he will perceive, that I have either changed, or eraſed ſome particular paſſages, merely, perhaps, in compliance to his judgement, although he never ſpoke one ſyllable to me. But I am reaſoning on this ſubject, as if I did not ſelect a few friends into a private chamber, but ſummoned the people, as it were, to a public auditory; and to have a numerous ſet of friends has been a glory to many men, a reproach to none. Farewell.

OBSERVATIONS.

The fondneſs and partiality of an author towards his own compoſitions are apparently viſible in this letter. ARISTO had amicably ſent PLINY an account, that at his houſe ſome criticiſms had paſſed in converſation, not ſo much againſt certain poems written by our author, as againſt the ſubjects, of which they treated: indecent ſubjects, and conſequently improper to be rehearſed in public; particularly by a man

a man of PLINY's character. This account diſpleaſes him, and he immediately profeſſes himſelf under no concern for the opinion of ſuch perſons, whoſe ignorance hindered them from knowing, that many greater authors had their hours of relaxation, and, by way of amuſement, had compoſed many poems, as gay, diverting, and wanton, as ever were the product of PLINY's pen. But had he conſidered with that coolneſs and candour, of which, in any other caſe, he could not have failed, he muſt have owned, that wrong actions are not to be defended, either by names, or numbers. Vicious examples may receive a ſtamp from faſhion; and, like counterfeit metals, at their firſt appearance may dazzle, and paſs for gold, till time, that irreſiſtible diſcoverer of falſhood, rubs off the gloſs, and reveals their baſeneſs. Authors therefore ſhould weigh well the patterns they wiſh to follow, and conſider whoſe ſteps they chuſe to tread; or, to uſe a very trite compariſon, let them imitate the induſtrious bee, who ranges from flower to flower, and taſtes every vegetable of the field, and garden; yet in his progreſs extracts nothing but ſweets, not even from the aloes, or the colocynth.

EPISTLE IV.

PLINY *to* VALERIANUS.

THERE has lately happened an affair, of little conſequence in itſelf, but which has introduced a matter of much weight. SOLERS, a man of prætorian dignity, petitioned the ſenate, for liberty to hold a fair on his eſtate. The legates of the Vicentini oppoſed it. TUSCILLUS NOMINATUS appeared as their advocate: the cauſe was adjourned over. At another meeting of the ſenate, the Vicentinians came in without an advocate: They ſaid, they had been deceived: whether they really thought ſo, or whether this was only a haſty expreſſion, I do not know. They were aſked by the prætor NEPOS, "What "perſon they had employed?" They anſwered, "Their former advocate." They were then aſked,

"If

"If he had appeared without a fee?" They anſwered, "He had received ſix thouſand ſeſterces [g]." They were aſked, "If they had fee'd him a ſecond "time?" They ſaid, "With a thouſand denarii [h]." NEPOS inſiſted, that NOMINATUS ſhould be ſummoned to appear, and anſwer this charge. Thus far they proceeded that day. But, as well as I can judge, the affair will not reſt here. For many things, when but juſt touched, and lightly put into motion, ſpread themſelves by degrees moſt diffuſively.

I have raiſed your expectation, as much as I ought for the preſent, that you may kindly deſire me to inform you of the conſequences; unleſs your curioſity ſhould bring you to *Rome* before-hand, and you ſhould chuſe rather to be a ſpectator, than a reader, of the farther proceedings in that affair. Adieu.

OBSERVATIONS.

The obſervations upon this letter will come more properly under the fourteenth epiſtle of this book, where the cauſe between the Vicentinian legates, and TUSCILLUS NOMINATUS, is more fully diſcuſſed, and the iſſue of it determined. However, we may here take notice, that no fairs could be held among the *Romans*, but by public authority. And before ſuch permiſſion was allowed, any perſons, who thought they ſhould be aggrieved by it, had a right to oppoſe the grant. This is agreeable to the uſage and practice with us at this day: for whoever is deſirous to have fairs held upon his eſtate, muſt petition the government; on ſuch petition a writ *ad quod damnum* is iſſued, and directed to the ſheriff of the county, who ſummons a jury, to find upon their oaths, whether any, and what detriment will ariſe by granting the fairs deſired: and the ſheriff makes a return accordingly, upon which the prayer of the petition is either granted, or rejected.

NEPOS the prætor, who is mentioned here, acts agreeably to the character given of him, in the twenty ninth epiſtle of

[g] Equal to 48 *l.* 8 *s.* 9 *d.*
[h] Equal to 32 *l.* 5 *s.* 10 *d.*

the

the fourth book; *Acer et fortis vir:* "A man of reſolution "and ſeverity." He is reſolved not to let any fraud, or negligence, eſcape the notice and examination of the ſenate; and therefore inſiſts, that NOMINATUS ſhall make his perſonal appearance, to anſwer the charge againſt him, the conſequence of which, as has been already hinted, will be made known to us hereafter.

EPISTLE V.

PLINY *to* MAXIMUS.

I Am told, that CAIUS FANNIUS is dead: the news grieves me very much. Firſt, becauſe I loved ſo polite and ſo learned a man; next, becauſe I uſed frequently to conſult and adviſe with him. For he was by nature of a penetrating genius, improved by experience, and for that reaſon was never at a loſs for an expedient. But his death afflicts me upon other accounts. He died without revoking an old will; by which means he has omitted the perſons, whom he loved beſt; and has obliged others, for whom he had the leaſt regard. This, however, is tolerable. It is a much greater misfortune, that he left a moſt noble work unfiniſhed. For although his time was moſtly taken up by his avocations, as a lawyer, yet he wrote the ſeveral cataſtrophes of all thoſe, who were murdered, or baniſhed by NERO, and had finiſhed three books with great wit, exactneſs, and purity of ſtyle, between the plain narrative and the hiſtorical. And he was ſtill more deſirous to give the finiſhing ſtroke to what remained, by perceiving the eagerneſs, with which thoſe already publiſhed were read.

To me, I confeſs, the death of men, who are preparing ſome work of immortality, always ſeems ſevere and immature. For thoſe, who are intirely devoted to pleaſures, live, as if their lives were to end with the day, and every day convince the world, they deſerve

ſerve to die. But to thoſe, who think of poſterity, and extend the memory of themſelves to future generations by their writings, death, at any time, muſt approach too ſoon; as it muſt always break off the thread of ſome uſeful work.

CAIUS FANNIUS had a pre-ſentiment of what has happened, long before he died. He dreamt one night, that he lay on his couch, in an undreſs fit for ſtudy, with a deſk, as uſual, before him: NERO, as he imagined, came in; ſat upon the couch, took up the firſt book, which FANNIUS had publiſhed concerning the cruelties of NERO's reign, and turned it over from the beginning to the end: He did the ſame with the ſecond, and the third book, and then vaniſhed. FANNIUS was much terrified, and thus interpreted the dream, that the ſame abrupt end ſhould happen to his hiſtorical deſign, as had happened to NERO's reading; and ſo the event proved.

This makes me reflect, with great concern, what an infinite deal of pains and labour he has expended to no purpoſe. My own mortality, my own writings occur to my mind. Nor can I doubt but you muſt have the ſame alarms for your unfiniſhed pieces. Let us endeavour therefore, whilſt life permits, that as few of our writings as poſſible may be found, within the power of death to demoliſh. Farewell.

OBSERVATIONS.

CAIUS FANNIUS is not mentioned by any of his contemporaries, except PLINY. Yet he is ſpoken of ſo advantageouſly in this epiſtle, that we muſt regret the loſs of his hiſtory, although he died before he had brought it to perfection. Upon theſe occaſions, when it is evident, that for want of the art of printing, many valuable works have been utterly deſtroyed, we naturally wiſh that typography had been known in the earlieſt ages of the world. On the other hand, it muſt be owned, that the preſs is ſometimes applied to an ill uſe, and is made the channel, through which falſhoods

falſhoods and ſcurrilities flow in too violent a torrent. Yet, however injurious the unlimited licence of printing may prove to particular perſons, the liberty itſelf is of too great benefit to the public in general, either to be aboliſhed, or reſtrained. The dread of being expoſed to the world may ſtrike an awe into thoſe breaſts, that are hardened and petrified againſt all impreſſions of conſcience, morality, or honour. And I am apt to believe, if SENECA and BURRHUS had inculcated into NERO the dictates of ſhame, and the terrors of infamy and reproach, CAIUS FANNIUS had not only wanted the melancholy materials, of which his hiſtory was to be compoſed, but a deluge of *Roman* blood might have been ſaved; and NERO, from the motive of fear, might have acted conſiſtently with the principles of virtue. Man is more immediately afraid of man, than of God: which made Sir T. B. reply to his friend, who reproached him for taking the oaths, "By my faith, I "would rather truſt God with my ſoul hereafter, than the "king with my eſtate at preſent."

Exitus occiſorum, aut relegatorum a NERONE. The hiſtory muſt have been very voluminous, which was to contain an account of all who were baniſhed, and murdered by NERO. But it ſeems aſtoniſhing, that the *Romans*, who were jealous of tyranny, and abſolute dominion, in the perſon of JULIUS CÆSAR, ſhould ſo far degenerate from themſelves, as not to have either ſenſe, ſpirit, or conduct ſufficient to ſtop the many acts of cruelty and oppreſſion, which were frequently, if not conſtantly practiſed by TIBERIUS, CALIGULA, CLAUDIUS, and NERO. Is it not a melancholy conſideration to recollect, that the godlike JULIUS fell by three and twenty wounds; and the infernal NERO lived to complain, "he had neither friend nor foe "to kill him?"

EPISTLE VI.

PLINY *to* APOLLINARIS.

I Am much delighted with the care and anxiety you have expreſſed, in perſuading me not to paſs the ſummer, as I intended, in *Tuſcany*, merely becauſe you imagine the place unhealthy. The ſea-ſhore of

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I Am much delighted with the care and anxiety you have expreſſed, in perſuading me not to paſs the ſummer, as I intended, in *Tuſcany*, merely becauſe you imagine the place unhealthy. The ſea-ſhore of

Tuſcany is certainly moiſt, and unwholſome. But my lands lie at a diſtance from the ocean, and are placed under the healthieſt of our mountains, the *Apennine*: and therefore, that you may lay aſide all your anxiety for me, attend to the temperature of the climate, the ſituation of the country, and the ſweetneſs of my particular dwelling. I ſhall give you the deſcription with no leſs pleaſure, than you will hear it.

The air in the winter is ſharp and froſty: myrtles, olives, and ſuch plants, as require a conſtant warmth, will not grow there. The laurel generally thrives, and ſometimes produces a very beautiful green, although now and then it is killed, but not more frequently than with us at *Rome*. The heat in ſummer is very moderate. There is always ſome air ſtirring abroad, but oftner gentle than ſtormy. To this I attribute the number of our old men. Here you ſee the grandfathers and great grandfathers of thoſe, who are now young men. You hear old ſtories, and the ſpeeches of our anceſtors. So that were you to come hither, you would think yourſelf in another age.

The face of the country is extremely beautiful: imagine to yourſelf an ampitheatre of immenſe circumference, ſuch as could be formed only by the hand of nature. A wide-extended plain is ſurrounded by mountains, whoſe ſummits are covered with tall antient woods, ſtocked with game for all kinds of hunting. The deſcent is planted with underwoods, among which are frequently little riſings, of a rich and deep ſoil; where a ſtone, if ſought for, is ſcarce to be found: in fertility, they yield not to the fineſt vales, and produce as good crops of corn, although not ſo early in the year. Below theſe, on the ſide of the mountain, is a continued range of vineyards, that extend themſelves, without interruption, far and near; at the foot of which is a ſort of border of ſhrubs. From thence you have meadows and open fields.

fields. The arable grounds require large oxen, and the ſtrongeſt ploughs. The earth is ſo tough, and riſes in ſuch large clods, when it is firſt broken up, that it cannot be reduced, till it has been ploughed nine times. The meadows glitter with flowers, and produce the trefoil, and other kinds of graſs, always ſoft, and tender, and appearing always new; for they are excellently well watered, with never-failing ſprings; yet where theſe ſprings are in greateſt confluence, they make no marſhes; the declivity of the land diſcharging into the *Tiber* all the water, that it does not drink in.

The *Tiber* runs through the middle of our lands; is navigable, and ſupplies the city from hence with all kinds of grain, but only in winter, and ſpring; for in ſummer it ſhrinks to nothing, leaving the bare name of a great river to almoſt an empty channel. In autumn it riſes to its uſual height.

You would be much delighted, were you to take a proſpect of this place from a neighbouring mountain, as you would ſcarce believe you were looking upon a real country, but a landſkip drawn with all the beauties imaginable; with ſo charming a repreſentation, and ſuch a variety of agreeable objects, will your eyes be regaled, which ever way they turn.

My houſe, although built at the foot of a hill, has a view, as if it ſtood upon the brow of it. The aſcent is ſo gradual, and eaſy, that you find yourſelf on the top, almoſt before you perceive yourſelf aſcending. Behind it, but at a diſtance, is the *Apennine* mountain, from whence it is refreſhed with continual breezes, be the weather ever ſo calm, or ſtill; and yet they are not too cutting or immoderate, but broken and weakened by the very diſtance. The largeſt part of the houſe lies to the ſouth, and enjoys the ſun all the afternoon; but ſomething earlier in the winter, than in the ſummer. In the front of it is a portico, pretty large, and of a proportionable

length; in which there are ſeveral apartments; and the court is laid out after the manner of the antients.

Before the portico is a terrace [i], adorned with various figures, and bounded with an edging of box. Below this is a gravel walk; on each ſide of which, a little upon the deſcent, are figures of divers animals cut in box. Upon a level plot ſtands an *Acanthus* [k], ſo ſoft, that it is almoſt liquid. Round the *Acanthus* is a walk bounded by a cloſe hedge of evergreens, cut into variety of ſhapes: on the other ſide is a ring [l], for taking the air on horſeback, in the ſhape of the *circus*, which goes round the box-hedge, that is cut into different ſhapes: and a row of dwarf trees, that are always kept ſheared. The whole is encompaſſed with a wall, ſo covered with box, that no part of it can be ſeen. On the outſide is a lawn, as beautiful by nature, as what I have been deſcribing is by art. Farther on, the proſpect is terminated by meadows, and many other fields, and little coppices of wood. From the extremity of the portico projects a large dining-room, from the doors of which you look to the end of the terrace; and from the windows you view the meadows, and a large extent of the country. From the portico you look upon the ſide of the terrace, and that part of the houſe, which ſtands moſt forward; as alſo upon the wood, and the tops of the trees in the adjoining horſe-courſe [m]. Almoſt oppoſite to the middle of the portico is a ſummer-houſe, which ſurrounds a ſmall court ſhaded by four plane-trees; in the midſt of which a marble fountain gently plays upon the roots of thoſe trees, and upon the graſs-plots under them.

[i] XYSTUS. See the obſervations on this epiſtle.

[k] See the obſervations.

[l] GESTATIO. See the obſervations.

[m] HYPODROMUS. The place for breathing and exerciſing the horſes. See the obſervations.

In

In this ſummer-houſe is a bed-chamber, where neither light, noiſe, nor ſound can enter; and cloſe to it a ſupper-room, for my particular friends. Another portico overlooks this little court, and enjoys all the ſame views with the former. There is another bed-chamber, ſhaded and adorned by the verdure and gloom of a neighbouring-plane tree; the outſide is of carved work in marble, as high as the balcony [n]. Above is a painting of trees, and birds ſitting amidſt the branches, equally beautiful with the marble; at the foot of which is a ſmall fountain; from whence the water running through ſeveral little pipes into a baſon makes a moſt agreeable murmur. In the corner of the portico is a very ſpacious bed-chamber, facing the dining-room, with windows both to the terrace, and to the meadows; and before it a piece of water, which delights at once our ears, and eyes, being near, and in the view of the front windows; and falling from a conſiderable height into a marble ciſtern, where it breaks and foams. This bed-chamber is very warm in winter, the ſun, during that ſeaſon, being full upon it. Adjoining to it is a ſtove, whoſe warm ſteams, when the weather is cloudy, ſupply the heat of the ſun: from thence you paſs through a chearful undreſſing chamber into the cold-bath room, which is darkened, and provided with a bathing ciſtern of a convenient ſize. If this be not large enough to ſwim in, or if you chuſe a warmer bath, in the outward court there is a baſon, with a well adjoining to it, from whence you may be ſupplied with cold water, in caſe the warmer bath ſhould be hotter than you deſire it. Adjoining to the cold-bath is another of a middle temper, and more expoſed to the ſun, but not ſo much as the hot-bath, becauſe that is built farther out: you have three ſtair-caſes to go down to it; two of them quite open to the

[n] Podio tenus. See the obſervations.

ſun; the third leſs expoſed, although full as light. Over the undreſſing room is a tennis-court, which is accommodated to ſeveral ſorts of exerciſe, by means of the ſeveral circles, which are made in it. Not far from the baths is a ſtair-caſe, that leads into a cloſe gallery, at the entrance of which are three apartments: one looks into the little court, where the four plane-trees are: another into the meadow; and the third has a view of ſeveral vineyards: ſo that each has a different proſpect, and looks towards a different point of the heavens. At the upper end of the gallery is a bed-chamber, taken out of the gallery itſelf. It has a proſpect of the horſe-courſe, the vineyards, and the mountains. To this joins a bed-chamber, which is open to the ſun, eſpecially in winter. From hence another apartment, between the horſe-courſe and the dwelling-houſe. All this makes the front.

On the ſouth ſide is a cloſe gallery of a conſiderable height from the ground; from whence the vineyards appear ſo near, that you ſeem almoſt to touch them. In the middle of it a large dining-room receives a very wholeſom air from the vallies of the *Apennine*: in the back front, from the largeſt windows, and the folding doors, you have a view of the vineyards, through the gallery. On that ſide of the dining-room, which has no windows, is a private ſtair-caſe, which we make uſe of for ſerving up an entertainment, when I ſup there: the gallery ends in a bed-chamber, beautified by the proſpect both of the gallery itſelf, and of the vineyards.

Underneath is another gallery, much like a ſubterraneous paſſage. In ſummer it is perfectly cool; and having ſufficient air within itſelf, neither wants, nor admits any from without. After both theſe galleries, at the end of the dining-room, is an open portico, cool in the forepart of the day, but expoſed to the ſun in the afternoon. Through this you go into

into two different apartments, one of which contains four, the other three chambers; all which enjoy, in their turns, both the ſun-ſhine and the ſhade.

This diſpoſition of the ſeveral parts of the houſe is extremely delightful; although it equals, in no degree, the beauty of the horſe-courſe, which is a large open area, preſenting itſelf intire, at one view, to the eyes of the beholder. It is ſet round with plane-trees, which are covered with ivy; and as their tops flouriſh by their own beauty, ſo, towards the bottom, their verdure is borrowed from the ivy, that runs over the trunk and the branches, and ſpreading itſelf from one tree to another, joins them together. The vacancy between the bodies of the trees is filled up with box; which is again ſurrounded by a lawrel hedge, vying in ſhade with the platans. This ſtrait boundary of the horſe-courſe changes its figure, at the end, into a ſemi-circle; which is ſet round, and covered with cypreſs-trees, compoſing a thicker and more gloomy ſhade than the former hedge. The inner circles (for there are many of them) enjoy the cleareſt day. They are filled with plenty of roſes, and relieve you from the chillneſs of the ſhade, with the agreeable warmth of the ſun.

When you are arrived at the end of all theſe winding alleys, you come out into a ſtrait walk; nay, not into one, but into ſeveral; divided, in ſome places, by graſs-plots, in others by box-trees, cut into a thouſand ſhapes; ſome of which are letters forming my name; and others the name of my gardiner. In theſe are mixt, alternately, ſmall pyramids and apple-trees; and now and then, in the midſt of a plot, improved with all imaginable art, you meet, on a ſudden, with a ſpot of ground, wild, and uncultivated, as if tranſplanted hither on purpoſe. The middle ſpace is adorned on both ſides with dwarf plane-trees. Beyond theſe again is an *Acanthus*, that waves and bends under your hand; and then again

various figures, and various names. At the upper end is a couch made of white marble, over which a vine, ſupported by four ſmall pillars of *Caryſtian* marble, forms an arbour. From the couch ſeveral pipes ſpout forth water, as if forced out by the weight of thoſe who lye down. It falls firſt into a ſtone ciſtern, and from thence into a marble baſon, and is ſo managed by pipes under ground, that it keeps the baſon always full, without ever running over. When I ſup here, the more ſubſtantial diſhes are placed upon the border of the baſon, whilſt the leſſer float in the water, in the ſhape of little boats and birds. Over againſt this is a fountain, which throws up water, and receives it back again. The apertures, that ſwallow it, and return it, communicate with each other.

Oppoſite to the marble couch ſtands a bed-chamber, which gives an ornament to that couch equal to what it receives from it. This room is beautified with marble; the doors project, and are ſurrounded with greens. The windows, both above and below, are ſhaded on every ſide with the ſame. Within this chamber is a little cloſet, that appears to belong to another room. Here is a bed, and windows on every ſide, which let in but a gloomy ſort of a light, being obſcured by the ſhade of a moſt luxuriant vine, which aſcends, and covers the whole building from the bottom to the very roof. You may lie here as in a grove, only more ſecure from rain. Here alſo riſes a fountain, which immediately diſappears. In many places of the walks and alleys are marble ſeats, diſpoſed at convenient diſtances; upon which, when you are tired with walking, you may reſt yourſelf with as much eaſe as in the chamber. Near theſe ſeats are little fountains. In every part of the horſe-courſe you hear the murmur of water, conveyed through pipes by the hand of the artificer, in ſuch a manner as beſt pleaſed his fancy.

This

This ſerves to water my greens, ſometimes in one part, ſometimes in another, and ſometimes in all parts at once. I ſhould have ended before now, for fear of ſeeming tedious, had I not been determined thus to walk over every corner with you in my letter: nor did I apprehend you would be tired in reading, what would not tire you in ſeeing; eſpecially as you may reſt, and, by laying down my epiſtle, relieve yourſelf as often as you pleaſe. Beſides, I was willing to indulge myſelf in the deſcription of what I love; for I am particularly fond of places, which I have either laid out myſelf, or have finiſhed, when begun by others. In a word, (for why ſhould not I unboſom to you my thoughts, whether right or wrong?) I always look upon it, as the chief duty of a writer, to keep a cloſe eye to his title, and often aſk himſelf what he has propoſed to treat of; well knowing, while he confines himſelf to his ſubject, he cannot ſeem long; but if he deviates in the leaſt, and launches out into any foreign matter, he muſt appear exceedingly tedious. You ſee how many lines are employed by HOMER and VIRGIL, the one in deſcribing the arms of ÆNEAS, the other of ACHILLES; yet neither of theſe poets are too prolix, becauſe each fulfils his original intention. You ſee in what manner ARATUS [o] has ſearched out and numbered the ſmalleſt ſtars; yet he preſerves himſelf from the character of too voluminous an author; for he never rambles, but keeps cloſe to his work. In like manner, (to compare ſmall things with great) whilſt I was endeavouring to place before your eyes a compleat deſcription of my ſeat, if I have never deviated from the ſubject, nor related what was foreign to my

[o] ARATUS was not only an aſtrologer, but a poet. He was born in *Cilicia*, and flouriſhed about the beginning of the 124th olympiad. His *Greek* verſes are tranſlated by TULLY in the ſecond book, *De naturâ Deorum*. The tranſlation is the work, as the author himſelf obſerves, of a very young man.

purpoſe,

purpoſe, it is not the deſcription of my houſe, but my houſe itſelf, that is large.

But to return where I begun, leſt I ſhould be juſtly condemned by my own law, if I continue longer in this digreſſion; you now ſee the reaſons, why I prefer my ſeat in *Tuſcany* to thoſe I have at *Tuſculum*, *Tibur*, and *Præneſte*; for, beſides what I have already told you, the repoſe I enjoy here is more quiet and undiſturbed, than any where elſe. No ſummons to the bar; no clients at my gate; all is calm and ſtill; which added to the healthineſs of the place, the clearneſs of the ſky, and the ſoftneſs of the air, makes me enjoy the greateſt vigour, both of body and mind. The one is kept in exerciſe by hunting, the other by ſtudy. Beſides, my family are never in better health than here. To this very day (in a lucky moment be it ſpoken) I have not loſt one of all the retinue I brought with me. May the Gods continue this happineſs to me, and this glory to the place itſelf. Adieu.

OBSERVATIONS.

A more enamoured deſcription cannot be given of a place, than we find of PLINY's *Tuſcan* villa in this epiſtle. Here again, as at *Laurentinum*, the lover dwells upon the charms of his miſtreſs; he views in rapture every feature, and ſeems uneaſy, leſt ſhe ſhould not appear equally amiable to others, as to himſelf. That ſtate of love muſt certainly be happy, where jealouſy can find no intruſion.

Monſieur FELIBIEN, in his remarks upon PLINY's two country houſes, obſerves, that the *Tuſcan* villa was preferred by our author to *Laurentinum*; not only becauſe the former was a larger, and more ſpacious houſe than the latter, but becauſe he had a noble eſtate there, and little or none at *Laurentinum*. To this another reaſon may plauſibly be ſubjoined; the retirement in *Tuſcany* was greater than at *Laurentinum*. PLINY indeed complains, in the fifteenth epiſtle of the ninth book, that even in *Tuſcany* his ſtudies were frequently interrupted by petitions, and complaints from

from his tenants. It is certain, to a ſtudious, and a delicate mind, no retirement can be too private; no ſolitude too obſcure: and therefore the greater the diſtance from the metropolis, the more compleat will be the ſcene of tranquillity.

The place, where PLINY's houſe ſtood, is pointed out to us in a map of the antient *Tuſcany*, by ORTELIUS [p], who fixes it in the neighbourhood of *Tifernum Tiberinum*, cloſe to the *Tiber*. PLINY mentions that river, as running through the middle of his eſtate; but gives us not the leaſt hint to imagine, that either his houſe, or his garden, had a view of the *Tiber*; which one or the other muſt have had, according to ORTELIUS [q]. So ornamental a circumſtance, if true, would ſcarce have been omitted by PLINY; but the geographical ſituation, and the various plans of the *Tuſcan* villa are, like thoſe of *Laurentinum*, the works of imagination. Time has deſtroyed all remains of both theſe houſes; and, to ſpeak ingenuouſly, it is impoſſible to rebuild them exactly, even upon paper, by any materials, that can be found in either of the epiſtles. The author is ſo hurried away by the oſtentatious pleaſure of having two ſuch houſes, that he has left the dimenſions of each apartment to be ſupplied by modern architects.

It is worthy of obſervation, with how great attention the *Romans* ſtudied to let in the ſun in winter, and to defend themſelves from the violent heat of it in ſummer. The latter is as neceſſary a precaution in the *Italian* climates, as the contrary is requiſite in our northern territories.

A tergo Apenninum. The *Apennine*, although ſpoken of as a ſingle hill, ſignifies that chain of mountains, which lye between the *Tyrrhene*, and the *Adriatic* Sea [r], and divide the ſeventh from the eighth region of *Italy* [s]. At the entrance of *Tuſcany* they are particularly high; and the higheſt

[p] See the collection of maps publiſhed by HORNIUS, map 42.

[q] ABRAHAM ORTELIUS was a native of *Antwerp*. He was perfectly well ſkilled in mathematics and geography. He died *anno* 1598, in the ſeventy firſt year of his age.

[r] *Mons inter geminas medius ſe porrigit undas*
Inferni ſuperique maris.
LUCAN. Pharſ. lib. 2. ℣. 399.

[s] *Italy* was divided into eleven regions, or provinces, by AUGUSTUS.

of

of the whole group has given one general denomination to all the reſt [t]. The deſcription of the *Apennine*, by LUCAN, is poetical and inſtructive [v].

Ante porticum xyſtus, conciſus in plurimas ſpecies. The *xyſtus* in this epiſtle, and in the deſcription of *Laurentinum*, anſwers neareſt to the idea we have of a terrace, upon which trees were planted, cut into ſeveral ſhapes, according to the faſhion of thoſe times. The difference between the *xyſti*, and the *xyſta*, has been elſewhere explained [w]. They were places for public wreſtlers; but the *xyſtus*, in a private garden, ſeems ſo correſpondent to a terrace, that it will ſcarce bear any other ſignification. "Before the porch of my "houſe," ſays PLINY, "is a terrace, edged with box; "upon it are trees, formed into a variety of different "figures."

Acanthus in plano mollis, et, pene dixerim, liquidus. The *acanthus* is mentioned twice in this epiſtle; each time, in ſuch a manner, as ſhews it to have been, whether tree or plant, a very curious vegetable. In this place, it evidently appears to have been a tree, becauſe ſituated by itſelf, *ambit hunc ambulatio*, "with a walk round it." In another part of this epiſtle, PLINY ſays, *poſt has acanthus*; the word *has* is relative to plane-trees, ſpoken of in the preceding ſentence. So that the conſtruction may run thus: "After the group "of plane-trees, we come to a ſingle tree, the *acanthus*." Dr. POCOCKE, in his deſcription of the eaſt [x], gives us a remarkable account of the *acanthus*: "ſetting out," ſays he, "from *Grand Cairo*, to *Aikmin* in a ſmall hired boat, "I was ſhewn on the height, which is to the ſouth of the "narrow eaſtern plain, a ruined tower, which they call the "tower of king ANTAR. Before we came to this place, "we had OSMAN to the weſt. About this place poſſibly "might be *Acanthus*, where STRABO ſeems to ſay, there "was a temple of OSIRIS, and a wood of *Thebaic acantha*, "which produced gums. This probably was *acacia*, the "*Thebaic acantha* or buſh: and it is not improbable, that "the city itſelf had its name from this wood. This tree is "very common in *Ægypt*, under the name of *ſount*, and

[t] Each mountain has a particular name, as, *Il monte ſan Antonio*: *Il monte ſan Todoro*: *Il monte acuto*, &c. &c.

[v] From the 396th to the 449th line of the *Pharſalia* book 2d.

[w] In the eſſay on the life of PLINY.

[x] Book 2. chap. 1. p. 69. vol. 1.

"is

" is the ſame as the *acacia*, called *cyale* in *Arabia Petræa*, " which, I am informed, produces the gum *Ægyptian*, or " *Arabic*."

The Doctor, in his account of the trees of *Ægypt* [y], farther tells us, that there is " a tree called *ſount*, which " ſeems to be a ſpecies of the *acacia*: it bears a ſort of key " or pod, which they uſe in tanning their leather inſtead " of bark. There is another ſort of it in their gardens " called *ſetneh*; it ſeems to be the *acacia* of *Italy*, called " *agazia* by the *Italians*: it is eſteemed, becauſe of a ſweet " yellow [z] flower it bears; but the roots of it opened " and bruiſed, ſend forth ſuch a diſagreeable ſmell, that it " infects the air for a conſiderable diſtance." And, in another place, the ſame author informs us [a], that among the trees of *Arabia Petræa* is " the *acacia*, which the *Arabs* " here call *cyale*; and I believe, ſays he, is the ſame, that " is called *ſount* in *Ægypt*; it is certain, that they collect " the gum *acacia* from it."

I have been more particular in my quotations from Dr. POCOCKE, that I might endeavour to reconcile the epithets of *mollis* and *liquidus* to the *Ægyptian* tree, which, the Doctor ſays, was called *ſount* in *Ægypt*; in *Italy*, *agazia*; and in *Arabia Petræa*, *cyale*: this, in all probability, was the *acanthus* of PLINY. The epithet *mollis* ſeems applicable to the nature of the wood, which is generally ſoft in trees, that produce turpentine and gum: the epithet *liquidus* refers to the juice, that oozes through the pores of the tree, and is *penè liquidus*, almoſt tranſparent. In the other part of this epiſtle [b], where *acanthus* is mentioned, the epithets are different: *Poſt has, acanthus hinc inde lubricus et flexuoſus*. Theſe ſeem to expreſs, in many reſpects, the ſame qualities with the preceding epithets; they anſwer to the deſcription of the *acanthus* by VIRGIL.

[y] Book 4. chap. 8. p. 205.

[z] This is exactly correſpondent with the deſcription in VIRGIL. Æn. 1. ℣. 653.

Et circumtextum croceo velamen acantho.

[a] Book 3. chap. 3. p. 154.

[b] P. 350. editio LONGOLII.

Et

Et molli circum eſt anſas amplexus acantho [c].

" and bound
" With ſoft Acanthus either handle round."

And again,

Aut flexi tacuiſſem vimen acanthi [d].

" Or left unſung Acanthus flexile twig."

The elder PLINY, in his Natural Hiſtory, calls the *acanthus*, *topiaria* [e], a vegetable, that is proper to be formed into ſhape; which correſponds with the *flexus*, and *flexuoſus* of VIRGIL, and of PLINY. The word *lubricus* ſeems referable to the ſmoothneſs of the tree, which appeared even; the leaves yielding to the hand, like feathers; and gliding all together in one continued ſmooth ſurface, as they might accidentally be put in motion, backwards and forwards, [*hinc inde*] by the wind, or by any other cauſe. Mr. MARTYN [f], in his *Engliſh* notes upon VIRGIL's Georgics, gives the deſcription of this tree from THEOPHRASTUS: but it is there ſaid to be full of prickles, except in the trunk; a circumſtance, by no means anſwerable to the deſcription of the *acanthus* in this epiſtle; and therefore it may reaſonably be ſuppoſed to be another ſort of the *acanthus*; for, it is certain, there were different kinds of this vegetable; and the ſofter ſpecies may, without too great a latitude of gueſſing, be deemed the *Italian agazia*, which bears yellow round flowers, like thoſe of a very common plant in our gardens, called *double ſneeze-wort*. Such a tree muſt have been ſufficiently beautiful, and *ſmiling* [g], to be placed in a particular

[c] Eclog. 3. ℣. 45. [d] Georgic. 4. ℣. 123.

[e] PLINII hiſt. natural. l. 22. cap. 22. ſays, there were two ſorts of it, *aculeatum & criſpum*, *alterum leve*, &c. This kind, mentioned by PLINY in this epiſtle, ſeems to be of the ſort called *leve*.

[f] Georg. lib. 2. ℣. 119. Mr. MARTYN deſcribes the plant, and ſhrub called *acanthus*, in his notes on Georgic. lib. 4. ℣. 123.

[g] *Mixtaque ridenti colocaſia fundet acantho.*
VIRG. Ecl. 4. ℣. 20.

ſpot

ſpot of ground alone, and diſtinguiſhed from the reſt, as one of the curious exotics in PLINY's garden.

Geſtatio in modum circi. It is evident that the *geſtatio*, in all authors, ſignifies a place appropriated for exerciſe in a vehicle, or on horſeback. The *geſtatio*, mentioned in this letter, was not, we find, entirely round; it was *in modum circi*, "in the form of the *circus*," oblong. But the ſeventh epiſtle of the ninth book will afford another occaſion of ſpeaking of the *geſtatio*, and therefore no farther diſſertation need be made upon it here.

Hac adjacentis hippodromi nemus. The *hippodromus*, from the derivation of the word, ſignifies a place intirely adapted to the exerciſe of horſes. In this, as in the preceding inſtances, the grandeur and magnificence of PLINY's ſeat in *Tuſcany* moſt evidently appear. It ſeems, like the mind of the maſter, to have been nobly appropriated to the pleaſure, repoſe, and amuſement of all his friends.

Eſt et aliud cubiculum, marmore excultum podio tenus: "There is another chamber built with marble to the height "of the balcony." The *podium* was a balcony [g], a projecture ſupported by pillars, or conſoles, and encompaſſed by a balluſtrade. The bed-chamber, here mentioned, muſt have been particularly delightful and elegant, as the *podium* was always ſuppoſed to command a fine proſpect; and the richneſs is expreſſed by the marble with which it was adorned.

In capite ſtibadium candido marmore vite protegitur, viten quatuor columellæ Caryſtiæ ſubeunt: "The couch itſelf made "of white marble is covered by a vine, which twiſts round "four columns of Caryſtian marble." This ſeems to have been the moſt beautiful, and the moſt expenſive ſummer-houſe in PLINY's garden. The couch [*ſtibadium*] was perhaps of *Parian* marble, which was perfectly white, and of which the *Grecians* formed their fineſt ſtatues: the columns were of another curious kind of marble, in high eſtimation among the *Romans*, brought from *Caryſtus* [h], a town of

[g] In a commentary upon VITRUVIUS there is a quotation from BARBARUS (HERMOLAUS BARBARUS, grandſon of the famous FRANCIS BARBARUS) giving an explanation of the *podium*, which is mentioned by VITRUVIUS, lib. 3. cap. 3. *Vide Lexicon* VITRUVIANUM *a* BARNALDINO BALDO.

[h] Vide PLIN. Nat. Hiſt. lib. 36. cap. 6.

Eubœa,

Eubœa [i], one of the largeſt iſlands in the *Ægean* ſea [k]. But there are ſeveral ornamental parts of the garden, which ſhew a diminutive, rather than a juſt taſte; ſuch as little fountains, and diſhes floating in the ſhape of boats and birds: and the whole, although in many places ſplendid and great, ſeems inferior to our chief ſeats in *England*, which are ſcarce equalled, and, I believe, not out-done in any parts of the known world.

[i] *Negropont*, now ſubject to the *Turks*.
[k] The *Archipelago*.

EPISTLE VII.

PLINY *to* CALVISIUS.

IT is evident the republic can neither be inſtituted heir, nor take any thing by way of legacy: but SATURNINUS, who left us his heirs, gave a fourth part to our commonwealth [l]: afterwards, inſtead of a fourth part, he bequeathed four hundred thouſand ſeſterces [m]. If you conſider the law, this legacy is void; if you conſult the will of the deceaſed, it is firm and valid. But the will of the deceaſed (I fear what I am going to ſay will not be very acceptable to the lawyers) is of greater authority with me, than the law; eſpecially in reſpect of what was deſigned to go to our common country. Shall I, out of this adventitious encreaſe of my fortune, refuſe our republic four hundred thouſand ſeſterces, which is but a little more than the third part [n] of what I beſtowed on her by a free gift? I know you will not differ

[l] Comum.
[m] *Quadringent. millium:* Four hundred thouſand ſeſterces, equal to — *l.* 3229 *s.* 3 *d.* 4
[n] *Seſtertium undecies:* Eleven hundred thouſand ſeſterces, equal to — 8880 4 2
PLINY's donation was 8880 *l.* one third of which is 2960 *l.*
The legacy of SATURNINUS to COMUM was 3229 *l.* which is 269 *l.* more than a third part of PLINY's gift.

from

from me in opinion, ſince you have that love for our country, which the beſt of citizens ought to have.

I would have you therefore, at the next meeting of the Decuriones, inform them what the law is; but briefly and modeſtly: then add, that we offer them the four hundred thouſand ſeſterces, as SATURNINUS commanded. Let it be called his gift, his liberality, and only our obedience.

I have avoided writing in a public manner upon this affair; firſt, becauſe I well know, from the intimacy of our friendſhip, and the greatneſs of your prudence, you would be both obliged, and enabled to diſcharge my part and your own. Then again, becauſe I was apprehenſive that I might not preſerve, in a letter, that moderation, which you could more eaſily maintain in a ſpeech. For the countenance, geſture, and voice itſelf, ſerve to fix the meaning of a ſpeech: a letter, deprived of all theſe advantages, lies expoſed to the malignity of interpreters. Farewell.

OBSERVATIONS.

This epiſtle was occaſioned by a clauſe in the will of SATURNINUS, who had bequeathed to the republic of the *Comenſians* a fourth part of his fortune: but afterwards, in lieu thereof, he deviſed them four hundred thouſand ſeſterces, and had likewiſe appointed PLINY and CALVISIUS, to whom the epiſtle is addreſſed, his coheirs.

We learn here, from our author's own aſſertion, that municipal commonwealths, ſuch as *Comum*, could not receive legacies, or become heirs. The reaſon of that law is not mentioned in this epiſtle; but it appears to have been the law by what JUSTINIAN ſays, in his [o] Inſtitutes, diſcourſing of thoſe, who are capable of receiving legacies, *Legari autem illis ſolum poteſt, cum quibus teſtamenti factio eſt:* "Such perſons only can receive a legacy, who have, "by law, a right in themſelves to make a will." A republic, or any body corporate, cannot make a will, becauſe it

[o] *De Legatis.* lib. 2. tit. 20.

never dies; and it is an eſtabliſhed maxim, *quod non poteſt eſſe teſtamentum viventis:* nor can a republic be made heir, becauſe it is a fluctuating body.

The governors of it are alternate and uncertain. The benefit therefore ariſing to the *Comenſians*, from the will of SATURNINUS, ſeems to have been fruſtrated, by the gift being deviſed to the commonwealth in general, and not to any particular uſe or purpoſe. But whatever legal flaws, or impediments, might have hindered the people of *Comum* from enjoying a bequeſt, certainly deſigned and allotted to them by SATURNINUS, they had the happineſs of finding PLINY ſuperior to all ſuch forms and ſubterfuges. In ſeveral preceding letters we have ſeen how joyfully, and how minutely he fulfilled, and perfected the unfiniſhed deſigns, and dying wiſhes of his deceaſed friends: but in this inſtance, there is a particular nobleneſs in the manner of conveying the legacy to the republic, that even far outſhines the bright actions, which, in former epiſtles, have excited our admiration and applauſe. *Illius hoc munus; illius liberalitas: noſtrum tantum obſequium vocetur:* "Let it be "thought, ſays he, that I have only acted in this affair "as an executor, according to my duty, and in obedience "to an indiſputable will: let SATURNINUS have the ho-"nour of the donation; let it be looked upon as his gift, "as his liberality; and let us not eclipſe the leaſt ſpark of "his glory: his was the intention; be his the renown." It is impoſſible to read ſuch exalted, and ſuch uncommon ſentiments, without being warmed into an entire affection for the author; ſince, in this epiſtle, his virtue appears eminently triumphant over one of the mightieſt human paſſions, love of fame.

EPISTLE VIII.

PLINY *to* CAPITO.

YOU would perſuade me to write a hiſtory; nor are you ſingular in the advice. Many of my friends have often given me the ſame counſel, and I am willing to follow it; not becauſe I have confidence in my doing it well, (for that would be the height of preſumption,

preſumption, unleſs I had tried) but becauſe nothing to me appears more eligible, than to conduct thoſe towards the realms of eternity, who ought never to die; and, at once, to extend the characters of others, joined together with our own. For my part, nothing, to me, ſeems of equal conſequence with the love and ardency I bear to a laſting reputation. It is a moſt worthy ſollicitude; eſpecially when a man is not conſcious to himſelf of any crime, that may make him ſtand in awe of being tranſmitted to poſterity. My thoughts therefore are employed night and day,

"By what right means to raiſe my groveling name,

(ſo far is ſufficient for my ambition: what follows is beyond it)

"And riſe by gen'ral voice to endleſs fame [p].
"Yet oh [q]!"

But I am ſatisfied, ſince hiſtory alone promiſes almoſt all I deſire. Orations and poetry are not extremely agreeable, unleſs there is an infinite deal of eloquence contained in them. Hiſtory, in whatever manner it is written, muſt pleaſe. For men are naturally curious: and are ſo eaſily captivated by any new acquiſition in the knowledge of facts, that they are even led away by little tales and ſtories. But a domeſtic example impels me to this kind of ſtudy. My uncle, who was my father too by adoption, was an hiſtorian, of moſt religious exactneſs. And all wiſe men agree, that it is beſt to tread in the footſteps of our anceſtors, if they have gone before us in a right path. Why therefore am I ſtaggered? Becauſe I have heretofore pleaded many great, and conſider-

[p] DRYDEN Georgic. 3. l. 8. and 9.

[q] The verſe in VIRGIL, here alluded to, is in the 5th Æneid. l. 195. *Quanquam O!*

able cauſes. I intend to peruſe theſe again, (although indeed I do not build much upon them) leſt by not giving them the laſt poliſh, what has heretofore coſt me ſo much pains, may periſh with me. For, if you have a view to poſterity, whatever is not abſolutely finiſhed, may be looked upon as not begun. You will tell me, I may review my pleadings, and compoſe my hiſtory at the ſame time. I wiſh I could! but each is ſo mighty an undertaking, that it will be abundantly ſufficient to bring either to perfection. I was nineteen years old when I firſt began to plead; and now, at laſt, I begin to ſee, and even yet only, as it were, through a cloud of darkneſs, in what manner an orator ought to excel. Shall then a freſh burden be added to this undertaking? It is true, an oration and an hiſtory have many things in common; but there is ſtill great variety in thoſe things, which ſeem common to each. The firſt is full of narration, ſo is the ſecond; but in a different manner. The humbleſt, the meaneſt, and the moſt trite ſubjects are adapted to the one; whilſt, in the other, all that is extraordinary, ſplendid, or exalted, ought to ſhine. In the one, may be deſcribed the bones, the muſcles, and the nerves; in the other, the brawny, and more fleſhy parts of the body. The one, muſt prevail by violence, by bitterneſs, by earneſtneſs: the other, by dignity and gentleneſs; nay, and even by ſweetneſs. Laſtly, the words, the ſounds, the conſtructions of each are different. For it is of great conſequence, as THUCYDIDES obſerves, whether you have your reward in preſent; or whether you are ſtill ſtriving for it: the firſt is applicable to orations; the ſecond to hiſtory. For theſe reaſons, I am not induced to confound and jumble together two diſſimilar works, which, in their nature, are ſo contrary to each other; leſt bewildered, as it were, in ſo incongruous a performance, I ſhould do in one place, what I ought to do in another. In the mean while, therefore, to uſe

the

the phraſe of the bar, I aſked permiſſion to plead. But, at preſent, let me deſire you to conſider the hiſtory of what particular times I ſhall undertake. If of old times, and ſuch as are already upon record, the materials are at hand; but it is a heavy taſk to collate them: if of later times, and ſuch as have never been touched upon, the offence I muſt give will be great, the thanks I ſhall receive will be ſmall. And beſides, as in ſuch a general depravity of manners among mankind, there muſt be a greater foundation for cenſure, than for praiſe; ſo it will be ſaid, that I am too ſparing of commendation, and too laviſh for reproach, although I give ample room to the former, and ſtrictly confine myſelf to the latter. But theſe apprehenſions do not retard me: I have ſufficient courage in the cauſe of truth. What I beg of you, is, to make the way ready, in which you would have me go; and to chuſe out a proper road, leſt, when I am prepared to ſet forth, ſome new and juſt reaſon for delay may ariſe and ſtop me. Farewell.

OBSERVATIONS.

Suades ut hiſtoriam ſcribam, et ſuades non ſolus: multi hoc me ſæpe monuerunt: "You adviſe me to write a hiſtory, "and you are not ſingular in your advice: many of my "friends have put me upon the ſame undertaking." It is no wonder to find, that the friends of PLINY were importunate, that he ſhould undertake the moſt difficult, as well as the moſt uſeful taſk in the world. The candour of his mind, the extent of his knowledge, and the acquiſitions of his experience, rendered him highly accompliſhed for an hiſtorian: but I doubt we muſt ever deſpair of ſeeing a perfect hiſtory. If an hiſtorian treats of his own æra, he cannot avoid being partial: if he treats of antiquity, he muſt rely upon ſuch of his predeceſſors, as were, like himſelf, partial to the age, in which they lived. It is impoſſible to be utterly diveſted of prejudice: nor can we free ourſelves from the weight of education, conſanguinity, friendſhip, and all thoſe other numerous obligations, which will imperceptibly ſlide into the ſcale, and bear down the juſt æquilibrium,

that ſhould always be preſerved in hiſtory. The indulgence therefore, which HORACE has given to poets, may reaſonably be allowed to hiſtorians. [1] *Non ego paucis offendar maculis.* When truth is the ultimate end of the hiſtory itſelf, and integrity and uprightneſs the guides of the hiſtorian, the inevitable infirmities of human nature are eaſily to be overlooked, or forgiven.

Mihi pulchrum in primis videtur, non pati occidere, quibus æternitas debeatur, aliorumque famam cum ſuâ extendere: "I "am," ſays PLINY, "chiefly induced to a performance of "this ſort, by conſidering, that an author, who conveys "to poſterity the actions of eminent men, at the ſame "time, that he eſtabliſhes their character, immortalizes his "own. The pictures will be admired, and the painter "held in great veneration; eſpecially, as they repreſent "perſons, whoſe names are ſacred, and dear to mankind, "and whoſe virtues ought to be engraven on eternal monu-"ments."

Orationi et carmini eſt parva gratia, niſi eloquentia ſit ſumma: hiſtoria quoquo modo ſcripta delectat. "Poetry and ora-"tory muſt be perfect in their kind; they muſt be poliſhed "to the niceſt degree: no flaws, no errors will be admitted "there: the diction muſt be pure, the language eaſy, "the thoughts natural; energy and harmony muſt flow "throughout the whole. But hiſtory needs no peculiar "grace to adorn it; the ſubject matter is ſo entertaining, "that if the ſtyle be not minutely obſerved, yet it will give "delight at any rate." *Sunt enim homines naturâ curioſi, et quâlibet nudâ rerum cognitione capiuntur, ut qui ſermunculis etiam fabelliſque ducantur:* "For people, in general, are "naturally ſo inſatiable, and thirſty after all hiſtorical facts, "that they greedily ſwallow down every little tale, or a-"necdote; every ſcrap of hiſtory, that is ſet before them." This ſeems to be the full meaning of theſe two laſt quotations; and there is great truth in PLINY's remark. The worſt and moſt infamous hiſtories have their readers and admirers; they hit the vicious taſte of a multitude; always more attentive to lies ill told, than to truth, be it ſung ever ſo ſweetly; or, to ſpeak plainer, more deſirous of ſcandal from a bad pen, than of panegyric from a good one.

It is from this letter we learn, that PLINY was nineteen years old when he firſt appeared at the bar. *Undeviceſimo*

[1] HORAT. Art. Poet. lin. 351.

ætatis

ætatis anno dicere in foro cœpi. And the epiſtle, from the turn of it, and from the hints which PLINY gives of his experience, leaves room to ſurmiſe it written in TRAJAN's reign. Our author had then ſeen the viciſſitudes of many dangerous times, and had paſſed through an exceeding hot and fiery furnace, unſinged, and unchanged. But the hiſtory here intended was not, in all likelihood, undertaken by him; at leaſt, no footſteps of it have remained to poſterity.

EPISTLE IX.

PLINY *to* POMPEIUS SATURNINUS.

YOUR letters have ſtirred up in me various paſſions; for they contained partly joyful, and partly ſorrowful news. It was joyful to hear you was detained in town; much againſt your own inclinations, you ſay; but not in the leaſt againſt mine; eſpecially, as you promiſe to rehearſe your works as ſoon as I arrive. I thank you for waiting my arrival.

It is melancholy to hear, that JULIUS VALENS is ſo extremely ill; yet not melancholy, if we regard only his benefit; ſince it certainly is beſt for him to be delivered, as ſoon as poſſible, from an incurable diſeaſe.

That JULIUS AVITUS is dead, upon his return from his queſtorſhip, is not only a ſorrowful, but an affecting piece of news. Dead too on ſhip-board, at a diſtance from his moſt affectionate brother, his mother, and his ſiſters. Theſe incidents are not of conſequence to the dead; but they were of conſequence to him, when dying, and are to thoſe who ſurvive him; eſpecially, becauſe a young man of ſo great hopes, thus fallen in the flower of his age, might have attained to the higheſt character, had his virtues reached their maturity. What a love of letters inflamed him! What an infinite deal too has he written! all which, like himſelf, muſt periſh, without bringing

forth fruit to poſterity. But wherefore do I indulge my grief? which, when unbridled, never wants ſufficient matter to go on. I will put a ſtop to my letter, that I may likewiſe ſtop thoſe tears, which the letter has extracted from me.

OBSERVATIONS.

The reflexion made by PLINY, upon the irrecoverable illneſs of JULIUS VALENS is extremely humane. *Quanquam ne hoc quidem triſte, ſi illius utilitatibus æſtimetur, cujus intereſt quam maturiſſimè inexplicabili morbo liberari.* It is certain, that death is preferable to a life of pain; but, as the poet [f] ſays,

Diſtruſt and darkneſs of a future ſtate
Make poor mankind ſo anxious of their fate;
Death in itſelf is nothing, but we fear
To be, we know not what, we know not where.

The belief of the antients, concerning departed ſouls, is not thoroughly explained to us. The ſixth Æneid, particularly that part of it, in which the infernal regions are deſcribed, is thought to contain as full a ſyſtem of their creed, as any that can be found in other authors. The doctrine laid down by VIRGIL ſeems to be, that, in the regions of PLUTO, there were two ſeparate and diſtinct places; one called *Tartarus*, allotted for the wicked, who receive puniſhments proportionable to their crimes; the other, called *Elyſium*, where the happy ſpirits are repreſented, as entertaining themſelves in beautiful fields, with the ſame diverſions and amuſements, in which they took delight when alive. This is the poetical heaven and hell. But becauſe the moſt perfect ſouls had contracted great impurity by being joined to the body, they were obliged, before their entrance into *Elyſium*, to undergo ſome purgation and puniſhment, till the pollution was taken away.

Aliis ſub gurgite vaſto
Infectum eluitur ſcelus, aut exuritur igni [t].

[f] DRYDEN. [t] Æn. 6. ℣. 471.

The

The laſt ſentence is particularly remarkable, as it bears ſo near a reſemblance to the modern purgatory, that were the ſame words found in a Chriſtian poet, they could not be conſtrued to any other ſignification.

We have great reaſon to conclude, that the moſt rational heathens held eternity of torments [u]. THESEUS is particularly named by VIRGIL; nor is there any inſtance where ſouls, once condemned to puniſhments in *Tartarus*, were releaſed from perpetual damnation. SISYPHUS, at leaſt we hear nothing to the contrary, was always to roll his ſtone. TANTALUS was eternally to be amidſt apples and water. Nor can we find, that any purgation was ſufficient to cleanſe thoſe, whoſe crimes were ſo enormous, as to draw upon them the irrevocable decree of *Tartarean* torments.

And now, my CHARLES, ſince I have wandered ſo far from PLINY, let me ſtill go on a little farther; a liberty that I have already taken, and muſt ſtill purſue, in expreſſing my obſervations upon theſe epiſtles.

However durable, according to the heathen ſyſtem, the ſufferings of *Tartarus* were decreed to be, the pleaſures of *Elyſium* laſted only a thouſand years. The happy ſouls, after that termination, were obliged to drink a draught of *Lethe*, by which potion they loſt all remembrance of joys in the *Elyſian* fields, and of preceding ſorrows and uneaſineſs, which they had endured upon earth. In that ſtate of oblivion they informed new bodies. Thus, when ÆNEAS enquires into the cauſe of ſo great a concourſe at *Lethe*, he is anſwered by ANCHISES,

Rurſus et incipiant in corpora velle reverti [w].

They were ſouls, who having been a thouſand years in *Elyſium*, the only condition requiſite for their return, were now haſtening again to the upper regions of earth. This poetical notion is not diſagreeable to fancy, although not conſonant to religion. It bears ſome analogy to the doctrine of the *Millennium*, which was an opinion held by the primi-

[u] Vide HOMER. Il. Θ. 8. ℣. 13. NATALIS COMES ſays, that they thought the wicked are to be for ever in hell. The ſame author ſpeaking of *Tartarus*, deſcribes it, *Qui locus eſt pœnarum, luce omnino carens, neque inde exire in perpetuum licitum eſt.*

[w] See the anſwer of ANCHISES from ℣. 724. to ℣. 751. Æn. 6.

tive

tive Chriſtians, however diſregarded in theſe later times. Upon the whole, the conſideration of PLINY, that his friend's death would be a releaſe from miſery, is extremely conſonant to good nature, and the religion of the *Romans*; who believed no man eternally damned, if he had not been guilty of ſome monſtrous crime; and whoſe purgatory, if not of a ſhorter duration than that of modern *Rome*, was at leaſt unattended with the ſame expence.

EPISTLE X.

PLINY *to* M. ARRIUS ANTONINUS.

WHEN I endeavour to imitate your verſes, it is then I find their excellency: for, as painters are ſeldom able to repreſent every beauty in a fair and captivating face; even ſo, in theſe my attempts, I climb, but fall down from the original. For this reaſon, let me intreat you more earneſtly to publiſh as many as poſſible of your works, as patterns, which all will deſire, but few or none will be able to imitate. Adieu.

OBSERVATIONS.

In the third epiſtle of the fourth book we may remember, that ANTONINUS had compoſed certain *Greek* epigrams and iambic verſes, which received from PLINY the higheſt degree of admiration and applauſe. The eighteenth epiſtle of that book is addreſſed again to ANTONINUS, upon the ſame ſubject, and in the ſame boundleſs ſtrain of approbation. The epiſtle now before us differs, neither in ſtyle nor matter, from the latter of the two epiſtles already mentioned. All the three letters tend to eſtabliſh the character of ANTONINUS, as a maſter in the *Greek* language, an excellent epigrammatiſt, and a fine compoſer of iambic verſe. Monſieur DACIER obſerves, that *Greece*, in the ſpace of fifty five Olympiads, two hundred and twenty years, produced nine *lyric*, and three *iambic* poets. The diſtinguiſhed names, in the firſt kind, were ALCMAN, STESICHORUS, SAPPHO, ALCEUS, SIMONIDES, IBYCUS, ANACREON, PINDAR, BACCHYLIDES;

CHYLIDES; in the ſecond kind were ARCHILOCHUS, SIMONIDES, and HIPPONAX.

Lyrics and iambics are different in theſe reſpects. Iambics are confined to a certain meaſure, and are always ſatirical. Lyrics are a ſpecies of poetry, far more antient than iambics. They were practiſed at feſtivals, in the earlieſt ages of the world; ages, when all degrees of men were employed in tillage, and in various ſorts of induſtry and exerciſe. Kings and patriarchs were only ſuperior herdſmen. When their labours were finiſhed, or rewarded by the fertility of their ſoil, they choſe to expreſs their gratitude to heaven in ſudden raptures of lyric poetry. Harmony of numbers naturally ariſes from minds filled with pleaſure, and joyful in repoſe. Nature firſt gave riſe to the ſong, and art and obſervation afterwards corrected, and made it uniform: but iambics appeared not till the vices and irregularities of mankind grew more triumphant and outragious.

EPISTLE XI.

PLINY *to* SUETONIUS TRANQUILLUS.

FULFIL the engagement made by me in my verſes, wherein I promiſed your writings to our common friends. They are daily called for; they are impatiently expected: and the danger now is, that their publication ſhould be forced upon you by a proceſs of law.

I am myſelf an arrant loiterer in publiſhing, but you even outdo me in procraſtination and delay. At once therefore, either break through your dilatory diſpoſition, or take care, that thoſe pieces, which my more ſoothing poetry could not draw from you, my iambics, by dint of ſatire, may extort. Your work is perfect, and finiſhed; not to be poliſhed, but rather impaired by the file. Permit me to ſee your name before it; permit me to hear, to copy, to read, to buy the volumes of my TRANQUILLUS. It is but juſt, that, in ſo mutual a friendſhip as ours, I ſhould receive from you the ſame ſatisfaction, and delight, which you have enjoyed from me. Adieu. OB-

OBSERVATIONS.

It appears, by this letter, that PLINY had mentioned, in certain verſes of his own compoſition, ſome performance, which the public were ſhortly to expect from SUETONIUS TRANQUILLUS. *Libera tandem hendecaſyllaborum meorum fidem, qui ſcripta tua communibus amicis ſpoſponderunt:* "I "have been your bondſman to our common friends: ſhew "yourſelf a man of honour, and pay your debt."

Jam periculum eſt, ne cogantur ad exhibendum formulam accipere. It is difficult to render the laſt phraſe, *formulam accipere*, into ſuch exact *Engliſh*, as ſhall fully anſwer the meaning. It alludes to a form in the *Roman* law. The ſenſe ſeems to be, "You are in danger of having a bill "filed againſt you, to oblige you to a publication." The epiſtle is written jocoſely from PLINY to SUETONIUS, and this particular phraſe ſhews the familiarity between them; and, at the ſame time, conveys a genteel compliment from our author to his friend.

Perfectum opus, abſolutumque eſt, nec jam ſplendeſcit lima, ſed atteritur: It is a perfect work, and finiſhed in every "particular: the file may wear it, but can never give it an "additional luſtre." We are not informed, by any expreſſion in this letter, what work of SUETONIUS is here particularly meant, and thus exorbitantly extolled by PLINY. If it be the hiſtory of the twelve Cæſars, as probably it is, no performance remains, even to this day, in greater want of the file. For although it muſt be allowed, that many curious anecdotes are related by that biographer, not to be found in any other author, yet his total want of decency is ſhocking and inexcuſable. The imperial vices are too particularly and too indelicately expoſed to view; an error, which renders his whole work abſolutely void of neatneſs, elegance, and dignity. There are certain impurities, which ought never to be recorded; they cannot be thought of without horror; nor can they be mentioned without ſhame. If poſſible, therefore, they ſhould be buried in oblivion, and never ſully the page, nor defile the character of an hiſtorian; the obſervation being no leſs true, than general, that the writings of an author are of the ſame level with his converſation.

EPISTLE

EPISTLE XII.

PLINY *to* FABATUS, *his wife's grandfather.*

I Have received your letters, by which I am informed, that you have dedicated an elegant portico to the public in your own name, and the name of your ſon [x]; and, that the day following, you promiſed to give money to adorn the gates, as if a new act of liberality was, with you, the neceſſary conſequence of having finiſhed a former. This gives me joy, firſt, upon account of your glory, ſome part of which, in conſequence of our alliance, will neceſſarily redound upon me; next, that I ſee the fame of my father-in-law thus enlarged, by works of ſuch diſtinguiſhed beauty; laſtly, that our country is in ſuch a flouriſhing condition. I ſhall be pleaſed, let her ornaments come from any hand; but ſhall be moſt delighted, when they come from you. I ſhall now only add a prayer to the gods, that you may enjoy this beneficent temper of mind to an extreme old age. For I dare to propheſy, that, when you have executed this engagement, you will then undertake ſome other public work; becauſe liberality, when once it has been exerted, cannot remain inactive. The very practice of this virtue makes it ſtill more amiable. Adieu.

OBSERVATIONS.

In this epiſtle, the anſwer to a letter from FABATUS, we may obſerve the diſtinction between the *porticus*, and the *portæ*; neither of which belonged to each other. The Porticos were built ſeparately in ſeveral parts of *Rome*; they were places for walking, and for public buſineſs. Our mer-

[x] The ſon of FABATUS was the father of CALPURNIA, the wife of PLINY. He died young, and, after his death, his daughter was educated by his ſiſter, her aunt, HISPULLA.

cantile

cantile exchanges are very much of the ſame kind; they were frequented by different ſets of people: in one part of the city the philoſophers had their hours of meeting; in another the merchants aſſembled; in others the poets, the ſtateſmen, and the politicians. Theſe public edifices were always open, and many of them belonged to the theatres, the temples, and the houſes of the chief nobility. By their form and ſituation, they were a defence againſt the inconveniences of weather. The *porticus Pompeiana* is particularly mentioned by OVID, PROPERTIUS, and MARTIAL. And we find by this epiſtle, that FABATUS had imitated other great men, by giving to the public a noble portico for their aſſemblies.

The *portæ*, or gates of the cities of *Italy*, were very numerous, and from the great concourſe of people, and the injury of carriages, were liable to decay. We may ſuppoſe therefore, that at the time, when this letter was written to FABATUS, ſome gates were to be rebuilt, and the money to be raiſed, by a general tax upon the people, or by a ſum given out of the public treaſury. FABATUS, at his own expence, undertook to adorn theſe buildings, and is here complimented by PLINY upon the occaſion. The reflexion and the end is perfectly elegant; "Liberality, ſays PLINY, "is heightened in her charms, by the repeated exerciſe of "her donations." Our author never omits an occaſion, to ſet forth generoſity in her moſt attracting colours, and to make her beauties univerſally confeſſed and admired.

EPISTLE XIII.

PLINY *to* SCAURUS.

WHEN I intended to rehearſe a ſmall oration, which I have thoughts of publiſhing, I called together ſome of my friends, that I might be in awe: I ſummoned few, that I might hear truth. I had two reaſons for the rehearſal; one was, that I might be encouraged by their ſollicitude for me; the other, that I might be admoniſhed by them, if any errors from ſelf-indulgence had eſcaped me. I enjoyed what I deſired: I found ſuch friends, as very freely gave me their advice: and I myſelf noted ſeveral

veral paſſages capable of emendation. I have corrected the book, which I have ſent you. The ſubject will be made known to you by the title. The book itſelf will explain the reſt; which I would make ſo conſtant a rule, that from henceforward no preface need be wanting. I deſire that you will write to me your opinion, both of the whole, and of the particular parts; for I ſhall either be more wary in ſuppreſſing, or more reſolved in publiſhing it, as your opinion ſhall determine me. Farewell.

OBSERVATIONS.

There are very many epiſtles of PLINY upon this ſubject of rehearſals. But the cuſtom itſelf is ſo unknown, and of ſo little conſequence to us, that however judicious and excellent theſe letters may have been, when they were written, they can make little impreſſion upon *Engliſh* readers at this diſtance of time. SUETONIUS tells us, that AUGUSTUS CÆSAR, in diffidence of his memory, accuſtomed himſelf conſtantly to read his ſpeeches, leſt he might omit any particulars; and alſo, that he might not loſe time in getting them by heart. *Ac ne periculum memoriæ adiret, aut in ediſcendo tempus abſumeret, inſtituit recitare omnia*[y]. Therefore *oratiuncula quam recitaturus* ſignifies the ſpeech read by PLINY from his notes, and not rehearſed without book; although ſometimes it bears, I think, the latter ſignification.

This epiſtle is addreſſed to SCAURUS, who is mentioned in a very extraordinary manner, by PLINY, in the twenty fifth epiſtle of the ſixth book.

Tu velim, quid de univerſo, quid de partibus, ſentias, ſcribas mihi: "I ſhould be glad to know your opinion of the "whole, and of every part of it." This ſhews the high opinion entertained by PLINY of his friend's judgement. And we muſt often have remarked the particular care and caution taken by him, that his works ſhould come out to the public in a finiſhed, perfect manner: he conſtantly delivers them up to the cenſure and peruſal of his friends; he invites their criticiſms, and is ſollicitous for their corrections; a method which one of our dramatic writers purſued, by

[y] SUETON. AUGUSTUS, cap. 84.

ſend-

ſending ſix manuſcript copies of a new tragedy to half a dozen different friends, deſiring each to blot out ſuch parts, as he ſhould find faulty, or improper; and not acquainting any one of the ſix, that he had ſent a copy to another. But alas! when the books were returned, and the poet had ſpread and compared them upon his table, he obſerved, to his great aſtoniſhment, that the lines, which one critic had not blotted out, had been eraſed by another, ſo that, unhappily, not a ſingle ſyllable remained of the whole dramatical labour.

EPISTLE XIV.

PLINY *to* VALERIANUS.

I Comply with your requeſt, according to my promiſe, in informing you what was the event of the accuſation brought by NEPOS againſt TUSCILLUS NOMINATUS.

NOMINATUS was brought into the ſenate, where he pleaded for himſelf, no body appearing againſt him. For the legates of the Vicentini not only forbore preſſing hard upon him, but even gave him ſome aſſiſtance. The ſubſtance of his defence was, "That "in diſcharge of his duty of advocate, he had not "been defective in point of fidelity, but of reſolu- "tion: that he had come in order to plead, and was "even ſeen in the court; but afterwards, diſcourag- "ed by the diſcourſe of his friends, he retired. For "he was adviſed to take care how he did ſo obſti- "nately oppoſe, eſpecially in the ſenate, the deſire "of a ſenator, who now contended, not ſo much for "obtaining the ſettlement of a fair on his eſtate, as "for favour, reputation, and honour: otherwiſe he "muſt expect to meet with greater marks of diſlike, "than what had been already ſhewn him." (When he ſpoke before, ſome few ſhouts indeed had been raiſed againſt him, as he went out.) He added to his ſupplications a torrent of tears. And as he is a man of great

great eloquence and abilities, he turned his diſcourſe in ſuch a manner, that, through the whole of it, he ſeemed rather to aſk pardon, than inſiſt upon his defence; which is certainly the ſafeſt and moſt prudent method. AFRANIUS DEXTER, the conſul elect, was of opinion he ſhould be acquitted; he ſaid, "That "NOMINATUS would have done better indeed, if he "had gone through the cauſe of the Vicentini with "the ſame courage he undertook it: but ſince his "fault could not be conſtrued a fraud, nor was he "convicted of having committed any crime, which "demanded puniſhment, he might be pardoned, up-"on condition that he reſtored to the Vicentini what-"ever he had received from them." All were of the ſame ſentiments, except FLAVIUS APER. He was of opinion, that NOMINATUS ſhould be forbidden to act as an advocate during the ſpace of five years: and although his authority drew no body over to his ſide, yet he ſtill perſiſted in that opinion. Nay, he went ſo far, by taking advantage of the law concerning the meeting of the ſenate, as to oblige DEXTER to ſwear, that the motion he had made for the acquitting of NOMINATUS, was purely for the good of the commonwealth. This demand, though a legal, was oppoſed by ſeveral. It ſeemed to reproach DEXTER with giving his ſentence out of favour to the accuſed. But before the ſeveral opinions were delivered, NIGRINUS, tribune of the people, repeated a very learned and weighty remonſtrance, in which he complained, that the advocates were hired; that even *prævarications* [z] were ſold; that the lawyers joined together in creating ſuits; and that, inſtead of glory, their former motive of acting, they had large and fixed ſalaries out of the ſpoils of the citizens. He repeated the heads of ſeveral laws, and put them in

[z] *Prævaricationes* is a law term, ſignifying *colluſion in pleading*: Money taken on both ſides, for which the advocates privately betray the cauſe they pretend to defend.

mind of the decrees of the ſenate; and at laſt concluded, that ſince both the laws and decrees of the ſenate were diſregarded, they ought to petition the emperor, that he would take upon himſelf to remedy ſo great evils. In ſome few days after an edict was publiſhed by the emperor, which was at once both moderate and ſevere. You may find it in the public regiſter.

What a real joy does it give me, that in pleading cauſes, I not only kept myſelf free from any bargain, gift, or preſent, but even from any token of acknowledgment, that might paſs from one friend to another? We ought indeed to avoid thoſe things that are diſhoneſt, not as they are unlawful, but as they are ſhameful. However, it is a moſt ſenſible ſatisfaction to ſee thoſe cuſtoms publicly forbidden, which a man has never allowed himſelf to practiſe. Fewer praiſes, and a leſs degree of fame, perhaps, nay, I may add, moſt certainly, will accrue to me, when all are abſolutely obliged to go in the ſame track, in which I trod voluntarily. In the mean while I enjoy great pleaſure, by hearing ſome of my friends declare, that I muſt have foreſeen this event; and others, in the ſame ſtrain of jeſt and raillery, ſay, there is now an entire ſtop to my plunder and my avarice. Adieu.

OBSERVATIONS.

The fourth epiſtle of this book contains the beginning of the cauſe between SOLERS and the Vicentinians. The epiſtle now before us is a continuation of the ſame ſubject.

SOLERS was a ſenator; he had been prætor; and was ſtill in high power and authority. He had petitioned the ſenate for a permiſſion of holding fairs upon his eſtate. His petition had been oppoſed by the Vicentinians. The legates of the Vicentinians had employed TUSCILLUS NOMINATUS as their advocate, and had given him a large fee. NOMINATUS ſpoke for his clients the firſt day. But the

ſenate

ſenate coming to no determination, the cauſe was put off to another day; and NOMINATUS received a ſecond fee from the Vicentinians. His friends, however, diſſuaded him from appearing a ſecond time, by ſuggeſting the infinite dangers, which he muſt incur, if he appeared as an adverſary againſt SOLERS. He eaſily yielded to their perſuaſions, and keeping the fee, which he had received from the Vicentinians, left them to defend their own cauſe.

A day was now appointed for the appearance of TUSCILLUS NOMINATUS, againſt whoſe breach of truſt the Vicentinians had moſt juſtly complained. He came before the ſenate with all the moving eloquence of ſorrow, fear and repentance: he ſubmitted, he prayed, he wept; his artifice prevailed. The ſenate accepted of his ſubmiſſion; the Vicentinians followed their example; and NOMINATUS received the mildeſt ſentence, that could poſſibly be decreed; *Ut Vicentinis, quod acceperat, redderet:* "That he ſhould re-" ſtore to the Vicentinians the fees, which he had received " from them."

In this epiſtle the avarice and timidity of NOMINATUS, and the corruption and partiality of the *Roman* ſenate, plainly appear. The advocate deſerts his clients, and quits his duty, from the fear of offending a powerful ſenator. He is then ſummoned, in all the pomp of juſtice, to anſwer to the accuſation of ſo great a breach of truſt. He comes, he acts the part, which, without doubt, he was privately ordered to aſſume. And the conſul elect is ſuddenly, but evidently, convinced of his innocence. The venerable fathers immediately follow the example of their future conſul; the Vicentinians are repaid, and TUSCILLUS NOMINATUS is acquitted.

FLAVIUS APER, in whom ſome ſparks of true virtue ſtill ſubſiſted, was the only ſenator, who gave his negative to this decree. He openly oppoſed the ſentence: he went on ſtill farther, and moved, that NOMINATUS ſhould be ſuſpended from exerciſing his employment, as a lawyer, during five years. If this motion had taken place, it muſt have overturned the ſcheme concerted, and agreed upon, (at what price will never be known,) between NOMINATUS and AFRANIUS DEXTER, conſul elect. The ſenators ſaw the juſtice of the propoſition, advanced by APER; *ſed dicere muſſant*, "they were all ſilent," and the motion, of conſequence, was dropped. APER ſtill continued firm and re-

ſolute in the cauſe of juſtice; and trying, as far as poſſible, to diſcover the iniquity, he inſiſted, that AFRANIUS DEXTER ſhould take an oath, whereby he ſhould declare, "That "he had given his opinion without biaſs, or favour, and, as "far as his judgement and conſcience could direct him, to-"tally in regard to the benefit and proſperity of the common-"wealth." This propoſal alſo, of putting DEXTER to his oath, met with oppoſition; although it was entirely conſiſtent with the laws then in force, which allowed any perſon, who was qualified to vote, to demand ſuch an oath, and gave him a power to compel the party to take that oath: but when once the bounds of integrity are removed, morality and truth are no longer prevalent; and oaths become the *vox, et præterea nihil.*

NIGRINUS *recitavit libellum diſertum et gravem*, &c. The full ſenſe and extent of this ſentence ſeems to be, that NIGRINUS read a remonſtrance, written with great learning and ſerioufneſs, which contained many complaints againſt the advocates in general; and wherein it was alledged, that they ſold their clients, taking money from each party, and betraying both.

The ſenate, upon the remonſtrance of NIGRINUS, and, perhaps, from a conſcious ſhame of their late partiality to NOMINATUS, addreſſed the emperor, that he would be pleaſed, by his own authority, to remedy the enormous corruptions, and many other pernicious evils, which were now predominant among the tribe of *Roman* advocates. Subſequent to this addreſs, an imperial decree was immediately iſſued, to prohibit the advocates from taking any fee, or reward, for pleading. This decree was ratified by the ſenate, and enrolled among the public records; and was, in itſelf, one of the moſt glorious acts in TRAJAN's reign.

EPISTLE XV.

PLINY *to* PONTIUS.

I Was retired to *Comum*, when the news was brought me, that CORNUTUS TERTULLUS had accepted the care of the *Æmilian* way. It is impoſſible to expreſs the joy, with which I am affected, both upon his account

count and my own. Upon his account, becauſe were he, as he certainly is, void of all ambition, the honour, as it came unſought for, muſt be acceptable to him: Upon my own, becauſe my particular employment muſt be more agreeable to me, after having ſeen an office of the ſame kind beſtowed upon CORNUTUS. The elevation of dignity itſelf is not more deſirable, than the equality, upon which it puts us with good men. For who exceeds CORNUTUS? Who is more upright? Or, who lives more ſtrictly after the example of antiquity, in every manner worthy of praiſe? Report has not informed me of this truth, although he enjoys, as he deſerves, the beſt of characters; I know it from long, and from thorough experience. Our friendſhips, and affections, have hitherto been the ſame towards all the worthy perſons of either ſex, which our age has produced. This agreement in our regard for others has united us in the ſtricteſt amity. Our public employments were an additional link to the chain: He was appointed, as you know, in compliance, as it were, with my wiſhes, not only my collegue in the commiſſion of the treaſury, but alſo in the conſulſhip. At thoſe times I had a deep inſight, what, and how great a man he was. I followed him as my director, I revered him as my father: my veneration proceeded not ſo much from his age as from the integrity of his life. For theſe reaſons, as I congratulate him, I muſt likewiſe congratulate myſelf; and not more upon a private, than upon a public account; ſince virtue now leads men to honours, not to dangers, as heretofore.

I ſhould extend my letter to too great a length, if I was to indulge my joy. Let me turn to thoſe affairs, in which your meſſenger found me employed at this place. I was with my wife's grandfather, with her aunt, and with ſome friends, whom I had long wiſhed to ſee. I was riding round my eſtate, and giving audience to the innumerable complaints

of my tenants. I was reading very curſorily, and againſt my will, their accounts, (having been engaged in papers and letters of another ſort) and, as my abſence was limited, I was beginning to make preparations for my journey; eſpecially when I heard, that CORNUTUS had an employment, I was then put in mind of my own. I hope you will quit your *Campania* at the ſame time; that, upon my return to *Rome*, our converſation may not receive the loſs, even of a ſingle day. Farewell.

OBSERVATIONS.

The intimacy between PLINY and PONTIUS, to whom this letter is addreſſed, appears to have been very great. Beſides the epiſtle, which has given riſe to theſe obſervations, there are two others, the twenty eighth of the ſixth book, and the fourth of the ſeventh book, written in the utmoſt freedom of friendſhip to PONTIUS. It is a loſs much to be regretted, that PLINY has not given ſuch particular marks of his friends and correſpondents, as ſhould point out their perſons and employments. They were certainly eminent in ſtation, abilities, and virtue. Such of them, as are known to us, appear to have been men of learning, or men of buſineſs, poets, or patriots, hiſtorians, or proconſuls; and, were we acquainted with all the reſt, the whole group might form in ſome meaſure the court of TRAJAN; an aſſembly, I imagine, little inferior to the court of AUGUSTUS. We ſcarce meet with the name of PONTIUS, except in TACITUS and [a] SUETONIUS [b], who tell us, that in the laſt year of TIBERIUS, CN. ACERRONIUS and C. PONTIUS were appointed conſuls.

We can gather no other particulars of TERTULLUS, than what are given to us by PLINY himſelf [c]. TRAJAN, in the firſt year of his reign, appointed PLINY *Præfect of the treaſury of* SATURN. TERTULLUS was a joint commiſſioner with him in that office. In the third year of TRA-

[a] Vide TACIT. Annal. lib. VI. cap. XLV.

[b] SUETON. TIBERIUS NERO; cap. LXXIII.

[c] PLINY ſpeaks of TERTULLUS in his panegyric. ſect. XC. and ſays, *iiſdem amicis gloriabamur, eoſdem amiſſos lugebamus.*

JAN, on the calends of September, PLINY and CORNUTUS TERTULLUS were appointed conſuls; but the conſulſhip was of ſhort duration. They were ſucceeded in that dignity, on the calends of the following November, by JULIUS FEROX, and ACUTIUS NERVA. In the fourth year of TRAJAN, PLINY took a journey into *Tuſcany*, and, in the ſame year, viſited *Comum*. During his retirement at that place, it is probable he received the welcome news, with which he begins his epiſtle, CORNELIUM TERTULLUM *accepiſſe Æmiliæ viæ curam*. To this particular period we may alſo venture to affix the date of this letter.

The *via Æmilia* was one of the moſt famous roads in *Italy*; it led from *Rimini* to *Aquileia*. It was made at the expence, and by the care of the conſul PAULUS ÆMILIUS, whoſe life is written by PLUTARCH. The SEMPRONII, the MARCELLI, the FULVII, the ÆMILII [d], not to mention more, were the moſt illuſtrious families in *Rome*.

The office of ſuperviſing the high-ways was originally inſtituted by AUGUSTUS, who, according to SUETONIUS [e], invented new employments, that a great number of perſons might partake in the adminiſtration of the commonwealth. The employment itſelf was extremely honourable, and always given to men of the higheſt diſtinction, as may be ſeen by the inſcriptive ſtones dedicated to the *viarum curatores*, who were alſo called *viocuri*. The care taken by the *Romans*, in forming and preſerving their public roads, cannot be too much applauded, or too exactly imitated. They were, in this inſtance, as in many others, the wiſeſt and moſt laborious people in the world.

[d] Vide JUVENAL. Sat. 8.

[e] Quoque plures partem adminiſtrandæ reip. caperent, nova officia excogitavit, curam operum publicorum, viarum, &c. SUET. AUG. cap. XXXVII.

EPISTLE XVI.

PLINY *to* MARCELLINUS.

I Write this to you under the greateſt oppreſſion of grief. The youngeſt daughter of our friend FUNDANUS is dead. I have never ſeen a more lovely, or

a more chearful young woman. She not only deſerved a longer life, but ſcarce ought to have been ſubject to mortality. She had not compleatly reached her fourteenth year; yet ſhe poſſeſſed the prudence of age, and the gravity of the matron; with it the gentleneſs of the child, and the baſhfulneſs of the virgin. How have I ſeen her clinging round her father's neck! How modeſtly, and how lovingly has ſhe embraced us, as her father's friends! How were her nurſes, tutors, and preceptors each, according to their ſeveral employments, reſpected by her! How ſtudiouſly, and with what a quickneſs of underſtanding did ſhe read! How ſparingly, and how cautiouſly did ſhe enter into diverſions! how great was her temperance; how great her patience; and with how much fortitude did ſhe bear her laſt illneſs! She obeyed her phyſician; ſhe encouraged her father, and her ſiſter; and when the ſtrength of her body failed, the vigour of her mind ſuſtained her. This firmneſs remained to the laſt moment; nor was it interrupted by the continuance of her illneſs, or the apprehenſions of her diſſolution. All, ſo many more, and ſo many heavier aggravations of our agony, and affliction. O melancholy, O bitter obſequies! O unhappy inſtant of death, more unhappy than death itſelf! She was, juſt now, contracted to an accompliſhed young man: the nuptial day was fixed, and we, her friends, were ſummoned. What a ſcene of joy! into how great affliction is that joy changed!

I cannot expreſs, in words, the wound which I felt in the receſs of my mind, when I heard FUNDANUS himſelf giving orders, (as grief is ever inventive of farther miſery) that the money he had deſtined to lay out in the wedding-clothes, pearls and jewels, ſhould now be applied to buy oils, perfumes, and incenſe for the funeral. He is, indeed, a learned, and a wiſe man, who, from his earlieſt time of life,

life, has applied himself to the deeper studies, and more refined sciences. But, at present, all that he has ever heard, all that he has often said, all other virtues, but paternal love, are totally expelled from his heart. You will pardon, you will even praise him, when you reflect upon his loss. For he has lost a daughter, who did not less resemble him in his manners, than in his looks and countenance; and who, with an amazing likeness, had copied her whole father.

If you write to him, therefore, upon this just occasion of sorrow, let your consolation be applied gently, and compassionately; not in a manner too rough, or too strong. Your advice will more easily make its way, by the intermediate space of time, that must occur: for as a fresh wound, at first, dreads the hand of the artist, which it afterwards endures; so recent grief, at first, rejects, and flies from all comfort, but afterwards demands, and submits to, impressions exhibited with mildness. Farewell.

OBSERVATIONS.

Nature is revulsed, when a child is buried by a parent. The character of FUNDANUS himself is highly finished by the pencil of friendship, and of skill. But the portrait of his daughter is in more captivating colours. Her sex, her age, and her virtues, are all so many incitements to our sorrow; or, in the words of PLINY, *plures gravioresque causæ et desiderii et doloris*. There is scarce any word, in our language, that fully answers the idea conveyed to us by *desiderium*, when used in this particular sense. It signifies the impatient longing after an object, that can never be recalled: An object,

Par levibus ventis, volucrique similima somno [f].

"Like the light winds, whose flight no pray'rs can stay,
"Or shadowy forms, that fleet in dreams away."

[f] VIRGIL. Æneid. VI. ℣. 702.

Every

Every language may be ſaid to monopolize ſome certain words, which cannot be fully expreſſed in any other tongue. Thus, *good-nature* is ſo peculiarly *Engliſh*, that it cannot be equalled by the dialect in any other nation. But indeed, this whole epiſtle has inexpreſſible beauties. The ſtyle, though raiſed to a very high degree, is not exalted beyond the ſublimity of the ſubject, and the concluſion is moſt delicate and affecting.

The epiſtle is addreſſed to MARCELLINUS, whom I imagine to be the ſame perſon, ſpoken of by PLINY in the twelfth epiſtle of the fourth book. He is called EGNATIUS MARCELLINUS; *Amas* EGNATIUM MARCELLINUM, ſays PLINY, in the beginning of that letter. In the eighth book we ſhall find an epiſtle to MARCELLINUS upon the death of JUNIUS AVITUS: ſo that the only letters extant, from PLINY to him, are upon the moſt ſorrowful topics, and written in ſo pathetical a manner, as to diſtinguiſh them among the choiceſt compoſitions of that kind.

EPISTLE XVII.

PLINY *to* SPURINNA.

I Know how much you honour the liberal arts; what joy you take, when the actions of young noblemen are worthy of their anceſtors: let me therefore haſten to tell you, that yeſterday I was one of the audience of CALPURNIUS PISO. He repeated a poem called *the play of love*; a polite, and indeed a beautiful performance. It was written in flowing elegiac verſe; and, as the ſubject required, was tender, ſmooth, and yet ſublime. For, with a proper diverſity of ſtyle, he mixed the noble with the ſimple, the familiar with the lofty, and the gay with the ſerious; all with an equal ſtrength of genius. He recommended the whole by the exceſſive ſweetneſs of his voice, and his voice by his modeſty. The bluſhes, and the anxiety of his countenance, were an ornament to his rehearſal. For I know not by what means, yet certainly diffidence becomes men of learning,

ing, better than ſufficiency. But enough of this, although I might proceed much farther; becauſe ſuch performances are the more commendable in a young man, and ſtill more extraordinary in a nobleman. When the rehearſal was finiſhed, after having very heartily embraced the young man, and encouraging him by the praiſes I beſtowed on him, which are always the beſt arguments, I adviſed him *to go on, as he had begun; and he would himſelf hold out to his poſterity that light, which had been held out to him by his anceſtors.*

I made my compliments to his excellent mother on this occaſion, and I congratulated his brother, who, by being one of his audience, gained no leſs glory by the affection he expreſſed, than CALPURNIUS did by his eloquence; ſo evidently did his firſt fears, for his brother's rehearſal, change into joy.

May the Gods grant that I often tell you ſuch pieces of news; for this age has my earneſt wiſhes, that it may not be barren, and unproductive; and I ſincerely deſire, that our nobility ſhould have ſome other beautiful ornaments in their houſes, beſides mere ſtatues. Thoſe, which are in the houſes of theſe young men, to me ſeem tacitly to praiſe, exhort, and, what is a great glory to the two brothers, to acknowledge them. Farewell.

OBSERVATIONS.

There are only two epiſtles from PLINY to SPURINNA; the firſt is, the tenth epiſtle of the third book; to which, if order had been conſulted, this epiſtle ſhould immediately have ſucceeded: for, although there probably might have been a great diſtance of time between the firſt and the laſt; yet letters to the ſame perſon ought not to be ſeparated, without ſome manifeſt reaſon to the contrary.

Nuncio tibi, fuiſſe me hodie in auditorio CALPURNII PISONIS: "I muſt inform you, that I was preſent to day, "when CALPURNIUS PISO rehearſed." No name, among the Romans, is greater, or more diſtinguiſhed, and ſcarce any

any ſo numerous, as that of PISO [g]. The two brothers, mentioned in this epiſtle, I imagine, were grandſons of L. CALPURNIUS PISO, who was conſul in the fourteenth year of TIBERIUS [h]; a year, which became remarkable by a moſt fatal accident at *Fidenæ*, where, in the ſudden fall of an ampitheatre newly built, fifteen thouſand perſons were maimed, or killed. L. CALPURNIUS PISO was again conſul in the fourth year of NERO [i], and collegue to the emperor himſelf. But the outrages of NERO growing intolerable, PISO unhappily entered into a conſpiracy againſt him; of which TACITUS [k] gives us a full account: part of it is well worth remembring in the words of that hiſtorian, as we there ſee the character of PISO himſelf. *Ineunt deinde conſulatum* SILIUS NERVA, *et* ATTICUS VESTINUS [l], *cœpta ſimul et aucta conjuratione, in quam certatim nomina dederant ſenatores, eques, miles, fœminæ etiam, cum odio* NERONIS, *tum favore in* C. PISONEM. *Is* CALPURNIO *genere ortus, ac multas inſigneſque familias paternâ nobilitate complexus, claro apud vulgum rumore erat, per virtutem aut ſpecies virtutibus ſimiles. Namque facundiam tuendis civibus exercebat, largitionem adverſus amicos, et ignotis quoque comi ſermone et congreſſu. Aderant etiam fortuita, corpus procerum, decora facies. Sed procul gravitas morum, aut voluptatum parſimonia: lenitati, ac magnificentiæ, et aliquando luxui indulgebat:*
" At the ſame time that SILIUS NERVA and ATTICUS
" VESTINUS began their conſulſhip, a conſpiracy was com-
" menced and carried on, which had been entered into
" with eagerneſs, not only by ſenators, knights, and ſol-
" diers, but even by women; all of them entertaining no
" leſs hatred to NERO, than affection to CALP. PISO, who
" was of the Calpurnian family, and who, by his father's
" ſide, was allied to many of the moſt illuſtrious houſes
" among the nobility. He had rendered himſelf extremely
" popular, either by virtue, or by the appearance of it. His
" eloquence had always been employed in defence of the
" people: He was liberal to his friends; and to ſtrangers
" perfectly complaiſant, and reſpectful. He had ſome lucky
" advantages in his favour: he was tall, and handſome.
" But his morals were far from being of the graveſt kind;

[g] See TACITUS, who mentions many of the name.
[h] Year of *Rome* 779. [i] Of *Rome* 809.
[k] TACIT. Annal. lib. xv. cap XLVIII.
[l] U. C. 817. NERO 12.

" nor

" nor was he in the leaſt parſimonious of his pleaſures. He " allowed himſelf great indulgence in eaſe and oſtentation, " and ſometimes in luxury." When the conſpiracy was diſcovered, all the chief conſpirators were put to death. Among whom were, PLAUTIUS LATERANUS conſul elect; LUCAN the poet; and his uncle SENECA; who had, ſince the death of BURRHUS [1], looked upon himſelf to be in the utmoſt danger. LUCAN is ſaid to have acted a very mean part upon this occaſion; and his flatteries to the young emperor, even ſuppoſing them written in the five firſt and beſt years of NERO's reign, are ſufficiently groſs, to ſuſpect in him an intolerable baſeneſs, that never can be juſtified. When this intended attempt for liberty was firſt diſconcerted, PISO was adviſed, by his friends, to retire to the camp, and to rely upon the affections of the army, and of the people: but he raſhly rejected the advice, and, in a kind of ungovernable deſpair, retired to his own houſe. A band of ſoldiers were immediately ſent to ſeize him. Before their arrival, he had ordered the veins of both his arms to be opened, and ſoon afterwards he expired. When PISO died PLINY was only four years old, which, in point of time, makes the preſumption ſtrong, that CALP. PISO, the ſubject of this epiſtle, was grandſon to the conſul.

[1] BURRHUS had inſtructed NERO in the military ſciences, as SENECA had in thoſe of poetry and eloquence. BURRHUS died in the 814th year of *Rome*, in the ninth of NERO's reign, who was ſuſpected to have poiſoned him.

EPISTLE XVIII.

PLINY *to* MACER.

SINCE you are in health and happineſs, my condition is certainly the ſame. You have with you your wife; you have with you your ſon. You have the advantage of a ſea proſpect, you enjoy your fountains, your vineyards [m], your fields, and your moſt

[m] *Vitibus* ſeems a better reading than *viridibus*. There are various readings on this ſhort unimportant epiſtle, which, in itſelf, is too defective of the eaſy manner, or flowing ſtyle, that is looked upon as neceſſary to conſtitute the elegance and beauty of familiar letters.

de-

delightful villa. For how can I doubt the delightfulneſs of your villa, when the ſame perſon, before he came to be the happieſt man in the empire, was ſtill happier in that place? I hunt and ſtudy in *Tuſcany*; ſometimes alternately; ſometimes I take both diverſions together. Nor can I yet determine, whether ſucceſs in ſporting, or in writing, be moſt difficult. Adieu.

OBSERVATIONS.

The ſcholiaſts tell us, that, in an antient manuſcript, this letter is addreſſed to SPURINNA; whoſe wife, COCCIA, is mentioned by PLINY, in the firſt epiſtle of the third book, as a woman *ſingularis exempli*, and whoſe ſon COTTIUS is characteriſed in the ſeventh epiſtle of the ſecond book. But of MACER, and his family, we can learn no particulars, although there are three epiſtles addreſſed to him, the fifth of the third book, the epiſtle now before us, and the twenty fourth epiſtle of the ſixth book, in which laſt we ſhall find a very remarkable ſtory.

In quâ ſe compoſuerat homo felicior, antequam feliciſſimus fierit. I am ever ſorry to find an affected turn of writing in any of PLINY's works. This particular ſentence, which relates to NERVA, is an example of the ſtrongeſt affectation. The meaning of it is, that NERVA had enjoyed greater happineſs in a private ſtation, at this particular place, than he afterwards enjoyed, when he became emperor, and might be ſuppoſed then to be the happieſt, becauſe the greateſt, man in the kingdom.

NERVA, who was looked upon with a jealous eye by DOMITIAN, is ſaid to have lived in great privacy, and with the utmoſt caution, at or near *Tarentum*, a noble and antient city of *Calabria*; the moſt ſouthern part of the kingdom of *Naples*, lying between the *Sicilian* and *Ionian* ſea. In thoſe territories therefore we muſt fix the ſeat of MACER, who probably loved his eaſe, *Tarentum* itſelf being mentioned by HORACE with the epithets *molle et imbelle*, "luxurious "and effeminate."

EPISTLE

EPISTLE XIX.

PLINY *to* VALERIUS PAULINUS.

I Perceive how humanely you uſe your ſervants, which makes me more candidly confeſs to you, with what indulgence I treat mine. The verſe in HOMER is always in my mind,

Ever like a father mild [n];

and that expreſſion of our own, *the father of his family*. But although I were of a more rugged and a harder diſpoſition, the illneſs of my freed-man ZOSIMUS muſt melt me. And the more he wants acts of tenderneſs at this time, the more I think myſelf obliged to ſhew them to him. He is a man of probity, of diligence, and of literature. But, indeed, his chief art, and, as it were, his particular recommendation, is his excellence in comedy, in which he performs wonders. For his pronunciation is clear, juſt, well adapted, and graceful; and he plays upon the harp better, than is expected from a comedian. He reads orations, hiſtory, and poetry in ſuch a manner, as makes them appear to have been his only ſtudy.

I have been the more particular in this account, that you might the better know how many excellencies, and what agreeable qualifications centered in this one ſervant. The man has been long dear to me, and my tenderneſs of him has been encreaſed by his preſent ill ſtate of health. For nature has ſo formed us, that nothing excites and quickens our affection ſo much, as the fear of loſing the object; a fear which I have ſuffered oftner than once on his account. It

[n] Iliad, Book 24. ℣. 770.

is

is now ſome years ſince he was pronouncing a ſpeech with great vehemence and earneſtneſs, when he ſpit blood, and, upon that account, being ſent by me into *Ægypt*, after a long ſtay in that country, he returned lately in a confirmed ſtate of health: ſince which, as he has exerciſed his voice for many days together, he was threatened with his old infirmity by a little cough, and afterwards again ſpit blood. For which reaſon I am determined to ſend him to your eſtate in *Forojulium*, having often heard you ſay, that the air there was healthy, and the milk particularly prevalent in curing diſorders of this kind. I entreat you therefore to write to your people, to furniſh him with a lodging, and accommodate him with whatever elſe he ſhall want. He will want but little; for he is ſo ſparing and abſtemious, that he not only refrains from niceties, but even from things neceſſary for his health. I ſhall take care to provide him with money, ſufficient for a man of his temperance, and who is going to your houſe. Farewell.

OBSERVATIONS.

The quotation from HOMER in this epiſtle, πάλιν δ' ὡς ἤπιος ἦεν, is part of HELEN's ſpeech, upon the ſight of HECTOR's body, brought back by PRIAM from the tent of ACHILLES. The whole ſpeech is one of the moſt maſterly ſtrokes of HOMER's pen. It is the concluſion of his poem, and leaves us with the higheſt impreſſions of HECTOR's humanity, and the tendereſt compaſſion for HELEN's infirmities, that can poſſibly be felt. PLINY, in many of his letters, ſeems remarkably fond of quoting HOMER, and the antient writers. If, in his time, the works of antiquity were ſo valuable, and ſo very agreeable to men of genius, and refined literature; the later ages have the additional advantage of numerous authors, who were contemporaries, and ſucceſſors to PLINY, and who are become antients to us. In familiar letters, claſſical quotations, properly introduced, are ornaments that add elegance and vivacity to the ſtyle, and often

often convey ideas, which could not be ſo fully expreſſed in any other manner.

Search the great antients, and you'll wiſely find,
Thoſe are the trueſt mirrors of the mind:
In them appears unſullied nature's face,
And common ſenſe, with more than common grace.

The character of ZOSIMUS in this epiſtle, and the manner of introducing it, ſhew the excellence of the ſervant, and the benevolence of the maſter. One of the commentators tells us, the name of ZOSIMUS is ſtill extant at *Comum*. His words are, *ejus memoria adhuc Comi extat in templo divi* ANDREÆ *tribus verbis notata*; ZOSIMUS CONJUGI INCOMPARABILI: "There is extant in the temple of "St. ANDREW at *Comum* an inſcription to perpetuate her "memory, in three words only; ZOSIMUS TO HIS IN-"COMPARABLE WIFE." This is the epitaph, which ZOSIMUS compoſed in honour of his wife. And although it contains only three words, two of which have no relation to her character, yet the third carries in it ſo extenſive a meaning, and leaves us to conclude ſo many excellencies, that ZOSIMUS himſelf muſt have found it impoſſible to have made the leaſt addition in her praiſe. The antients are peculiarly happy in their mottos, their epitaphs, and their inſcriptions. The moderns ſeem to think, that the whole art, and beauty, of thoſe kind of writings, conſiſt entirely in their length. But the preference may at once be decided, when three words can contain a finer panegyric, than the longeſt epitaph in *Weſtminſter* abby.

Et quaſi inſcriptio, comœdus. By the word *inſcriptio*, PLINY alludes to the cuſtom of expoſing ſlaves to ſale, with writings in their hands, enumerating the ſeveral performances and accompliſhments in which they excelled. And the alluſion is the more proper towards ZOSIMUS, as he was PLINY's freed-man. But although ZOSIMUS is particularly diſtinguiſhed as *comœdus*, he muſt not be looked upon as a public, and profeſſed comedian. The Romans entertained themſelves in the evening by ſeeing plays acted, during the time they were at ſupper. Thus PLINY, in the fifteenth epiſtle of the firſt book, ſays to SEPTICIUS CLARUS, who had promiſed to ſup with him, "You would have heard a "comedy."

" comedy [a]. But there was a ſpecies of comedy often acted at the ſeveral houſes of men of rank, and figure, different from thoſe repreſentations, which went under the general denomination of *Comœdia*. It was a kind of farce, and was called *Atellana* [b], from *Atella*, a town of *Campania*, where it was firſt invented: the chief deſign of it was mirth and ridicule, not unmixed with ſatir, upon particular perſons; and ſometimes an introduction of great wantonneſs and debauchery. In theſe diverſions the ſervants, ſuch of them as had capacity ſufficient for the occaſion, were joined with the other actors, and had their particular parts aſſigned to them. ZOSIMUS, according to PLINY, excelled in this comic mimicry; a talent, which is often born with a man, and, where it is not, can ſeldom be aſſumed with ſucceſs.

In prædia tua, quæ Foro-julii poſſides. The *Forum-julium* here mentioned, is at preſent the *patria di Friuli*, which ſurrendered to ALBINUS, King of *Lombardy*, in the year of the Chriſtian æra, five hundred and ſixty eight. He erected the territory into a dukedom, and beſtowed it upon his nephew GISULPHUS [c]. The moſt part of it now belongs to the *Venetians*, the reſt to the emperor. Although this is the moſt northern part of *Italy*, it is particularly remarkable for vines and delicate fruits; which ſhew the climate to be mild and ſalutary; otherwiſe, it muſt have been an improper reſidence for ZOSIMUS, whoſe complaints ſeem to threaten an immediate decay.

[a] The expreſſion is *audiſſes comœdos*, which rendered literally, is, " You might have heard *the players*." I imagine the *comœdi* here mentioned, were the *Atellanici*, if we may ſo call them, who differed from the *Hiſtriones*, or common players; they might enliſt themſelves into the army, a privilege, which was not allowed to the *Hiſtriones*; and was granted only to freemen of *Rome*.

[b] *Monſieur* DACIER's note, upon the 225th verſe of HORACE's art of poetry, is a very full explanation of the *Atellana*. Vide SUETON. TIBERII, cap. XLV. and JUVENAL, Sat. VI. ℣. 71.

[c] TACITUS ſpeaks of *Friuli*, as a very ancient and illuſtrious colony. He ſays it was the country, in which his father-in-law AGRICOLA was born. CNÆUS JULIUS AGRICOLÆ *veteri et illuſtri Foro-julienſium colonia ortus.*

Life of AGRICOLA by TACITUS.

EPISTLE XX.

PLINY *to* URSUS.

THE *Bithynians*, in a ſhort time after their accuſation of JULIUS BASSUS, began another proſecution againſt RUFUS VARENUS, their proconſul; the ſame VARENUS, whom they had lately deſired, and retained, as their advocate againſt BASSUS. When they were introduced into the ſenate, they required leave to prove their charge; and then VARENUS requeſted, that he might have liberty to ſummon witneſſes in defence of his cauſe. This was oppoſed by the *Bithynians*, and the matter came to a debate. I pleaded for VARENUS, not without ſucceſs; but whether well, or ill, the book, which contains my pleadings, will ſhew. For, in pleadings, chance has a great ſway over each party: memory, voice, geſture, time itſelf, in a word, either the love, or hatred, of the accuſed, all contribute both to depreciate, and recommend, the reſpective pleadings: but, when thoſe pleadings appear in a book, they then give no offence, they gain no partiality, nor are ſubject to other incidents, be thoſe incidents proſperous, or not. FONTEIUS MAGIUS, one of the *Bithynians*, anſwered me, with many words, and little matter. It is a received cuſtom among moſt of the *Greeks*, that volubility of ſpeech ſupplies the want of ſubſtance; ſo tedious, and ſuch inſipid ſentences do they amaſs together in one breath, as it were in a torrent. And therefore JULIUS CANDIDUS uſed to ſay, in his polite manner, *eloquence was one thing, and loquacity another.* For eloquence has ſcarce ever fallen to the ſhare of above one, or two men; nay, if you will believe MARCUS ANTONIUS, it never was attained by any man: but what CANDIDUS calls loquacity, has been the peculiar gift of many, and eſpe-

cially of thoſe, who had moſt impudence. The next day HOMULUS pleaded for VARENUS with great addreſs, force, and elegance; to whom NIGRINUS replied in a conciſe manner, but with weight and dignity. ACILIUS RUFUS, conſul elect, was of opinion, that the *Bithynians* ſhould have liberty ro prove their charge: he paſſed by the requeſt of VARENUS in ſilence. This was a more polite manner of giving his negative to it. CORNELIUS PRISCUS, who had been conſul, was for granting the requeſts both of the accuſers, and the accuſed; and the majority of the ſenate were with him.

We have obtained our point, though not authoriſed by any law or cuſtom; yet juſt in itſelf. Why it is juſt, I ſhall not explain in a letter, in order to your deſiring the whole pleading. For, if the ſaying of HOMER be true,

> That novel lays attract our raviſh'd ears;
> But old the mind with inattention hears [f]:

then muſt I take particular care, in this addreſs to you, that my ſpeech does not loſe the grace of novelty, (in which its chief merit will conſiſt) by the impertinence and length of my letter. Adieu.

OBSERVATIONS.

The limits, and the execution, of the Roman laws, were equally uncertain under moſt of the emperors. From the time of AUGUSTUS, to the reigns of NERVA and TRAJAN, juſtice and all legal authority were ſet aſide, vice preſided, and virtue was depreſſed. In the reign of TRAJAN, equity and uprightneſs were again revived. The humanity of that emperor was particularly remarkable in redreſſing grievances, and puniſhing guilt.

VARENUS *petit, ut evocare teſtes liceret:* "VARENUS "aſked, that he might have liberty to cite witneſſes." All

[f] POPE's Odyſſ. Book I. ℣. 446.

civil

civil law courts, at this day, uſe citations to compel witneſſes to appear. And therefore we may explain this ſentence, as a petition from VARENUS, that he might have ſome legal proceſs, or ſummons, from the judges, to compel the witneſſes to attend, and give their teſtimony, on the day appointed by the court. This method, at leaſt, is agreeable to what is practiſed by the Engliſh laws. In the courts of *Weſtminſter-hall*, we have ſubpœnas to compel the witneſſes to appear: and in trials before the privy council, the witneſſes receive a ſummons from the clerk of the council, which if they diſobey, they are liable to be puniſhed according to the nature of the caſe. And this was probably the method among the Romans; otherwiſe, it muſt have been fruitleſs to aſcertain a time for producing witneſſes, and yet to allow no power to compel thoſe witneſſes to appear. An expreſſion, in the ninth epiſtle of PLINY's third book, ſeems to confirm this opinion. The words are, *e teſtibus quidam, ſive iratus, quod evocatus eſſet invitus*, &c. "One of the witneſſes came with regret, perhaps becauſe "he was ſummoned." The *teſtis invitus*, in all probability would never have been preſent, had it not been penal to ſtay away.

PLINY, in this epiſtle, diſplays the many advantages, which a graceful orator poſſeſſes, over a leſs accompliſhed ſpeaker; and obſerves, what impreſſions ſuch advantages are apt to make upon the judges: but adds, that when the ſeveral arguments are reduced into writing, all theſe advantages are removed, and the reader is left to an unbiaſſed judgement. *Liber offenſis, liber gratia caret:* "Written ſentiments are equally indifferent to cenſure or favour." Eloquence and oratory were looked upon as ſuch ſuperlative ſciences among the Romans, that they were often more attended to, than the real merits of the cauſe.

The diſtinction between eloquence and loquacity quoted from JULIUS CANDIDUS, is certainly juſt. The one required an eminent degree of genius and abilities; nor was it attainable without great pains and art. The other required only impudence, and ſtrength of lungs. Many inſtances are daily to be ſeen of the latter, but very few of the former.

There are four other epiſtles in PLINY, which relate to VARENUS; the fifth and the thirteenth of the ſixth book; the ſixth and the tenth of the ſeventh book.

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There are four other epiſtles in PLINY, which relate to VARENUS; the fifth and the thirteenth of the ſixth book; the ſixth and the tenth of the ſeventh book.

EPISTLE XXI.

PLINY *to* CANINIUS RUFUS.

I Went into the *Julian* court of juſtice, to hear thoſe lawyers, to whom I was to make reply according to the laſt adjournment of the cauſe. The judges ſat, the centumviri came, all eyes were fixed upon the advocates: a long ſilence enſued; at laſt a meſſenger arrived from the prætor. The centumviri are at once diſmiſſed; the day is put off; all to my great joy, who am never ſo ſufficiently prepared, as not to be glad of a delay. NEPOS the prætor, by cloſely adhering to the letter of the law, occaſioned the adjournment. He had publiſhed a ſhort edict, in which he gave notice both to the accuſers, and the accuſed, that he would ſtrictly put in execution the decree of ſenate. To his edict he affixed the decree itſelf, by which it was ordered, "*that all perſons, "who had any cauſe whatever to plead, ſhould ſwear "before their cauſe came on, that they had given no-"thing, had promiſed nothing, had ſecured nothing, to "the advocate, who was to plead their cauſe.*" By theſe words, and many others, the advocates are forbidden to take fees, or the parties to offer any. But, when the law-ſuit is ended, the parties are permitted to give their advocates ten thouſand [a] nummi, but no more. The prætor, who preſides over the court of centumviri, being embarraſſed by this decree of NEPOS, took time to deliberate, whether he ſhould follow his example. His deliberation gave us a reſpite, which we did not expect. In the mean time the edict of NEPOS is blamed, or praiſed, according to men's different ways of thinking, throughout the

[a] Equal to ten ſeſterces: in Engliſh money, 80*l.* 14*s.* 7*d.*

whole

whole city. Many ſay, " *We have a man, who will* " *ſet all things right. How? Have we never had* " *any prætors before him? Who is this mighty re-* " *former of the public manners?* Others, on the contrary, ſay, " *He has done right in beginning his ma-* " *giſtracy in this manner: he has enforced the laws:* " *he has kept to the letter of ſenatorial decrees: he has* " *aboliſhed a moſt infamous commerce; and will not* " *ſuffer the nobleſt profeſſion to be thus proſtituted, and* " *become venal.*" Theſe are the ſentiments of both ſides; and which party will prevail, we ſhall ſee by the event. It is certain, nothing is leſs equitable, yet more common, than to ſee honeſt, or corrupt counſels, approved of, or condemned, according as they fail, or proſper. From hence it often happens, that the ſame actions take different denominations, ſometimes of zeal, ſometimes of vanity, ſometimes of liberty, and ſometimes of madneſs. Farewell.

OBSERVATIONS.

This epiſtle gives us an inſight into a very excellent law, that ought to be adopted by all civilized nations in the world. And PLINY at the ſame time glances, with great diſcretion and tenderneſs, at that univerſal corruption, which in time not only deſtroyed the empire, but extirpated the very name and language of the Roman people.

Deſcenderam in Juliam Baſilicam: " " I went down into " the court of Julia." The *Baſilicæ* are explained to us by ROSINUS [a]. *Erant Baſilicæ ampliſſima et ornatiſſima ædificia, in quibus, non ſenatores modò deliberare, verum etiam judices omnis generis cauſas cognoſcere, et clientibus homines periti de jure reſpondere ſolebant: quando hi vacabant, mercatores ibidem et nummularii ſua tractabant negotia.* From hence we learn, that the *Baſilicæ* were beautiful and ſpacious edifices, adapted at once to the courts of juſtice, and to mercantile negotiations. [b] VITRUVIUS tells us, that they ought always to be built in the warmeſt part of the town,

[a] Lib. 9. cap. 7. [b] Lib. 5. cap. 1.

near the forum, and in ſuch a ſituation, as is beſt defended from ſtorms and bad weather. His words are, *Baſilicarum loca adjuncta foris, quam calidiſſimis partibus oportet conſtitui, ut per hyemem ſine moleſtia tempeſtatum ſe conferre in eas negotiatores poſſint.* VOSSIUS obſerves, that they were generally built oblong like a ſhip, and ſo near the ſhape of our Chriſtian churches, that, in the early ages of Chriſtianity, churches were frequently raiſed upon the old foundation of the *Baſilicæ*. By the word *deſcenderam*, we may imagine, that the court of *Julia* was placed lower than the other three courts of the centumviri, all which were appointed for judging of ſuch matters, as the prætor committed to their deciſion. We are told by two lines, which ſome attribute to LUCAN, others to OVID, that a ſpear was the enſign of their authority, and was erected when the *decemviri* and *centumviri ſtlitibus judicandis* [c] were ſitting in judicature.

Seu trepidos ad jura decem citat haſta virorum,
Seu firmare jubet centeno judice cauſam:

" Thither the guilty, ſummon'd by the ſpear,
" Enſign of pow'r, before thoſe courts appear:
" Where cauſes by the ten great chiefs are tried,
" Or by the nobler hundred ratified."

Ceremonies, that were ſo perfectly eſtabliſhed, and ſo frequently put in practice, were too notorious to be mentioned in a letter; otherwiſe PLINY would probably have taken notice of the ſpear, which was alſo made uſe of at all public and private auctions, and gave riſe to the proverb, *ſub haſtâ vendi.*

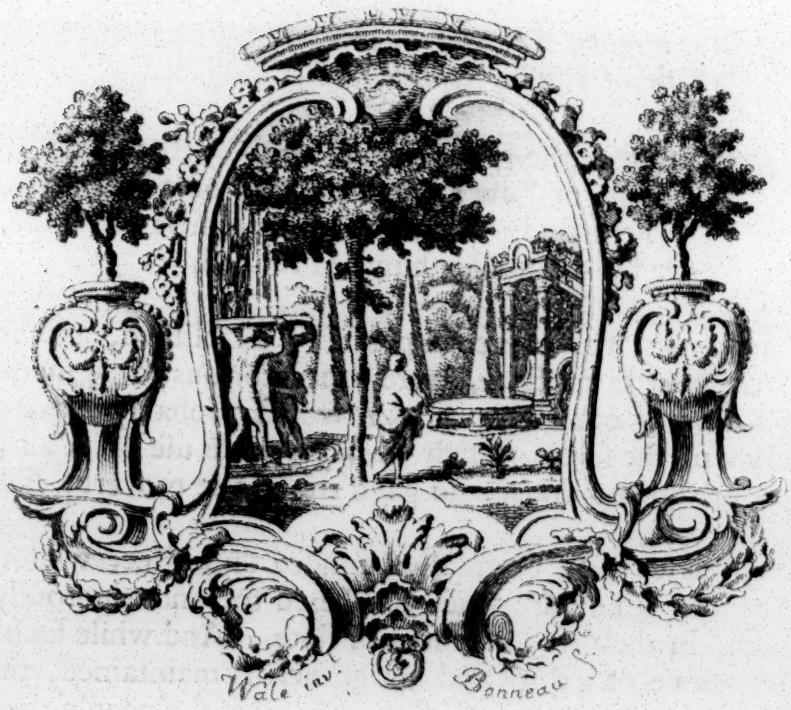
All laws were originally founded on juſtice, wiſdom and candour: They are ſtrictly adhered to, and rigorouſly executed, in the firſt ſettlement of ſtate. And while ſuch a due obſervance of equity and uprightneſs is maintained, the magiſtrates preſerve their juſt power, and the people their juſt freedom. But time and proſperity produce indolence, avarice, and numberleſs other evils, which undermine the foundations of juſtice, and by degrees bring the ſuperſtructure to the ground. In our author's days the Roman govern-

[c] The *decemviri ſtlitibus judicandis* are explained in the obſervations on the 2d epiſtle of book 6.

ment

ment was mouldering into decay: and although NEPOS, and other particular perſons, even TRAJAN himſelf, endeavoured to revive the antient virtue, and to recover the antient conſtitution; yet all thoſe endeavours were without ſucceſs; or, at moſt, were only lightnings before death: for corruption, in whatever kingdom ſhe has an opportunity to eſtabliſh herſelf, never quits her ſituation, till, like the plague, ſhe leaves not the traces of humanity behind her.

The End of the FIFTH BOOK.



BOOK I

PLINY'S EPISTLES

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